

LUCIAN  
A SELECTION

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## PREFACE

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Few commentaries are available for those who wish to read Lucian in Greek. The present selection provides a sample of more and less well-known texts which illustrate Lucian's attitude to writing, his place in contemporary culture, and his relationship with earlier literature.

A Callimachus or an Ovid seems to invite learned comment, but Lucian does not. Despising alike the pedant and the ignoramus, he writes for those who already have an easy familiarity with Greek literary culture. The apparatus of scholarship feels somehow awkward when applied to these effortless compositions. For my part I have tried to evade the charge of pedantry by keeping the notes brief. Readers will deal as best they can with the sense of exclusion which must come from using them.

I have benefited greatly from the acuteness of the General Editors Professors P. E. Easterling and R. L. Hunter. Professors E. W. Handley and S. P. Oakley very generously found time to read the entire typescript, and both supplied many helpful suggestions. Professor E. J. Kenney scrutinised *The Ignorant Book-collector*, which profited also from being the subject of a series of graduate seminars in the Faculty of Classics at Cambridge in 2006. Mr N. C. Denyer, Dr R. D. Dawe, Dr P. Probert, Dr M. J. Squire and Professor S. C. Todd were kind enough to answer queries and offer comments on various matters. To all these, to my copy-editor Muriel Hall, and to the staff of Cambridge University Press, I tender my warmest thanks.

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N.H.

## ABBREVIATIONS

### 1. EDITIONS, TRANSLATIONS AND COMMENTARIES

The following are referred to in the commentary:

- Billerbeck–Zubler M. Billerbeck and C. Zubler, *Das Lob der Fliege von Lukian bis L. B. Alberti*. Bern 2000
- Costa D. C. Costa, *Lucian: selected dialogues*. Oxford 2005
- Bompaire J. Bompaire, *Lucien: œuvres*. (Budé). Paris 1993–
- Fowlers H. W. and F. G. Fowler, *The works of Lucian of Samosata*. 4 vols. Oxford 1905
- Harmon A. M. Harmon, *Lucian* (Loeb Classical Library) vols. I–V. London and Cambridge, Mass. 1913–36
- Heitland W. E. Heitland, *Luciani Somnium, Charon, Piscator et De Luctu*. Cambridge 1877
- Hemsterhuis T. Hemsterhuis and J. F. Reitz, *Luciani Samosatensis opera*. 3 vols. Amsterdam 1743
- Kilburn K. Kilburn, *Lucian* (Loeb Classical Library) vol. VI. London and Cambridge, Mass. 1959
- Levy H. L. Levy, *Lucian: seventy dialogues*. Oklahoma 1976
- Mackie E. C. Mackie, *Luciani Menippus et Timon*. Cambridge 1904
- Macleod (Loeb) M. D. Macleod, *Lucian* (Loeb Classical Library) vols VII–VIII. London and Cambridge, Mass. 1961–67
- Macleod (OCT) M. D. Macleod, *Luciani opera* (Oxford Classical Texts). 4 vols. Oxford 1972–87
- Macleod (1991) *Lucian: a selection*. Warminster 1991
- Pierro M. R. Pierro, *Luciano, Contro un bibliomane ignorante*. Con una nota di Luciano Canfora. Palermo 1994
- Sidwell K. Sidwell, *Chattering courtesans and other sardonic sketches*. London 2004

### 2. MODERN WORKS

- CA J. U. Powell, ed. *Collectanea Alexandrina*. Oxford 1925
- CHCL I P. E. Easterling and B. M. W. Knox, eds. *The Cambridge history of Classical literature. I Greek literature*. Cambridge 1985
- CHCL II E. J. Kenney and W. V. Clausen, eds. *The Cambridge history of Classical literature. II Latin literature*. Cambridge 1982
- CPG E. Leutsch and F. Schneidewin, eds. *Corpus paroemiographorum Graecorum*. 2 vols. Göttingen 1839–51

## ABBREVIATIONS

ix

- D–S C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*. Paris 1877–1919
- EGF M. Davies, ed. *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta*. Göttingen 1988
- FGH E. Jacoby et al., eds. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Leiden 1923–
- GMT W. W. Goodwin, *Syntax of the moods and tenses of the Greek verb*. 2nd edn, London 1889
- Goodwin W. W. Goodwin, *Greek grammar*. 2nd edn, London 1894
- GP J. D. Denniston, *The Greek particles*. 2nd edn, Oxford 1954
- HE A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, eds. *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic epigrams*. Cambridge 1965
- K–A R. Kassel and C. Austin, eds. *Poetae comici Graeci*. Berlin and New York 1983–
- K–G R. Kühner and B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache. Zweiter Teil: Satzlehre*. 2 vols. 3rd edn, Hanover and Leipzig, 1889–1904
- LIMC *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*. 8 vols. Zurich and Munich 1981–99
- LSJ H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. Stuart Jones and R. Mackenzie, eds. *A Greek–English lexicon*. 9th edn., Oxford 1968. Revised supplement, ed. P. G. W. Glare, Oxford 1996
- M–W R. Merkelbach and M. West, eds. *Fragmenta Hesiodae*. Oxford 1967
- OCD S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, eds. *The Oxford Classical dictionary*. 3rd edn, Oxford 1996
- OLD P. G. W. Glare, ed. *Oxford Latin dictionary*. Oxford 1968–82.
- PMG D. L. Page, ed. *Poetae melici Graeci*. Oxford 1962
- RE *Paulys Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart 1893–1980
- Roscher W. H. Roscher, ed. *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*. Leipzig 1884–1937
- SH H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons, eds. *Supplementum Hellenisticum*. Berlin and New York 1983
- Smyth H. W. Smyth, *Greek grammar*, rev. G. M. Messing. Cambridge, Mass. 1956
- TrGF B. Snell, R. Kannicht, S. Radt, eds. *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta*. Göttingen 1971–2004



## INTRODUCTION

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### I LUCIAN

Except for a brief reference in Galen, Lucian is mentioned by no contemporary, though his elegant and voluminous works must have made him famous during his lifetime.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this is not surprising: light prose literature in general receives little notice, so that the Greek novelists, for example, are mere names to us.<sup>2</sup> The chief features of his life as he tells it are stories of conversion. In *The Dream* he says that as a boy he was destined to follow the trade of sculptor, but that after dreaming of a contest between Sculpture and Culture he determined instead to continue his education (see pp. 93–7). Elsewhere he claims that at about the age of 40 he became disillusioned with the rhetoric that he had practised all too successfully, and that he decided to move towards philosophy. This move he connects with his invention of the comic dialogue, which combined a philosophical literary form with the humour and mockery found in such authors as Aristophanes, Eupolis and Menippus.<sup>3</sup>

These conversion narratives help to define the nature of Lucian's work, but they are unlikely to be literally true.<sup>4</sup> Other facts, mentioned incidentally, make it possible to construct a brief outline of his career. He was born, probably near the end of Trajan's reign (AD 98–117), in the Syrian city of Samosata, a place of strategic and commercial importance on the right bank of the Euphrates.<sup>5</sup> His native language may have been Aramaic;<sup>6</sup> but in all parts of the eastern empire elementary schools taught Greek literature and culture, and he will have learnt Greek from an early age. After advanced study of rhetoric in Ionia, he may have practised as an advocate at Antioch.<sup>7</sup> Peripatetic rhetorical performers

<sup>1</sup> Galen reports a literary hoax perpetrated by Lucian: Strohmaier (1976). Probably the anecdote derives from a lost work. P. Oxy. 4738, from *Dialogues of the Gods*, is almost contemporary.

<sup>2</sup> We know biographical details of the Latin novelists Petronius and Apuleius. But the *Satyricon* is nowhere mentioned in ancient sources, and the *Golden Ass* receives only a single notice, by Augustine (*C.D.* 18.18).

<sup>3</sup> *Twice Accused* 32–4 (see p. 97), *Fisher* 19, 25–7, *Hermot.* 13.

<sup>4</sup> On revelation and conversion narratives in autobiography see Sturrock (1993). Synesius saw the life and writings of Dio 'Chrysostom' (c. 50–c. 120 AD) as divisible into an earlier sophistic and a later philosophic period, and Dio in his account of his mid-life exile figures himself as Socrates (cf. pp. 94–7 on Lucian as Socrates): Dio, *Oration* 13, Synesius, *Dio*.

<sup>5</sup> Suda s.v. Λουκιανός for his birth-date; for Samosata *ibid.* and *How to Write History* 24.

<sup>6</sup> See however *Dream* 8 διαπταίονσα . . . η.

<sup>7</sup> Ionia: *Twice Accused* 27. Antioch: Suda s.v. Λουκιανός.

were common at the time. Lucian travelled in Ionia, Italy, Gaul, Thrace and Macedonia, and spent a period in Athens.<sup>8</sup> He claims to have witnessed the suicide of the charlatan philosopher Peregrinus, which took place at Olympia in the year 165.<sup>9</sup> In late life he held an administrative post in Egypt.<sup>10</sup> Probably he died about 180, having lived through the reigns of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Verus and Marcus Aurelius.<sup>11</sup>

If Lucian's account of his mid-life conversion were accurate, it would be possible to separate earlier 'rhetorical' pieces from later satirical dialogues, but in fact his works, around 70 in number, present a great variety of forms, and all are influenced by his rhetorical training. That variety results to a large extent from permutations of recurring elements: of genre, of scale, of tone, of objects for ridicule, of texts for quotation and imitation familiar to an educated audience. It is likely that most of his works were declaimed in public before being circulated in written copies. Some will have been composed for special occasions; many will have gained a reputation in advance of Lucian's arrival, and have been performed by popular demand.<sup>12</sup> Many of the shorter pieces will have served to whet an audience's appetite.<sup>13</sup> In the dialogues the declaimer's rhetorical training will have equipped him to give the various speakers distinctive voices. In forensic pieces he could adopt an oratorical or mock-oratorical delivery; in descriptive works a tone of vivid engagement with his subject; in the autobiographical *Dream* the relaxed attitude of a raconteur. Little more than this can be inferred or conjectured about the circumstances of performance and publication.

Some of Lucian's works fall into categories familiar from ancient handbooks of rhetoric and from contemporary authors such as Dio and Aristides: *The Fly* and *Praise of One's Native Land* are formal encomia (see pp. 142–3); *Phalaris I* and *II* are speeches of prosecution and defence of a tyrant, of a type practised by every budding rhetorician, and *Sigma vs Tau* is an amusing variation on the same theme; *Hippias*, *Zeuxis* and *On His House* are or contain set-piece descriptions (*ecphrases*), pictures in words which display the ability of rhetorical language to evoke a scene. Other works, and in particular the comic dialogues, are difficult to categorise, and are described by Lucian himself as hybrid (see p. 116). Many of these are set in the past, either the remote past of myth or the classical past of the fifth century BC. Those from the world of myth poke fun at the gods by exposing them to the uncomfortably rational criteria of philosophic questioning: in *Zeus Rants*, for example, Zeus looks on in exasperation as humans argue about the gods' existence. Often the joke depends on seeing

<sup>8</sup> Italy and Gaul: *Twice Accused* 27. Thrace: *Fugitives*. Macedonia: *The Scythian*.

<sup>9</sup> *Peregrinus*; cf. *Book-collector* 14 n.

<sup>10</sup> *Apology*, esp. §12; Van der Leest (1985).

<sup>11</sup> There is an extraordinarily tenuous biography of Lucian by Schwartz (1965); see also Baldwin (1973), Jones (1986).

<sup>12</sup> See *Apology* 3.

<sup>13</sup> See p. 109 on *προλαλία*.

familiar facts from a new perspective: in *Charon* the ferryman of the dead is taken by Hermes to a mountain peak and looks down with mingled indignation and incomprehension on human vanities; and in *Anacharsis*, *Toxaris* and *The Scythian* Scythians question such Athenian institutions as gymnastics as training for war.

Lucian is now best known for the inventive fantasy of *A True History*, a parody of mendacious travel writing, and for dialogues set in times long past; but he also addresses a number of contemporary issues, in particular the humiliation of reliance on rich patrons and the hypocrisy of pseudo-philosophers. In *The Parasite* fawning dependency is ironically raised to the level of an art, and *On Salaried Posts* catalogues the humiliations of a client; these are topics familiar from Lucian's older contemporary Juvenal and from the epigrams of Martial (c. 40–c. 102 AD). In *Alexander* he exposes the tricks of a false prophet who died in the 160s; in *The Death of Peregrinus* is described the self-immolation of another impostor who died in 165; in *Images* and *In Defence of Images* he praises Panthea, mistress of the emperor Verus (161–9). Other works deal with linguistic usage, how to speak well, how to write history, and the hopelessness of philosophical certainty. In these and in most of Lucian's compositions the elements of irony, satire, humour, dialogue, rhetorical commonplaces and literary allusion are combined in varying ways: a characteristic tone pervades a diverse collection of works.

## 2 EDUCATION, CULTURE AND THE SECOND SOPHISTIC

Throughout the Roman Empire the educational system was remarkably uniform.<sup>14</sup> Latin was spoken and studied in the west, Greek in the east. Education was not compulsory, and had to be paid for. School exercises survive on papyri and writing tablets, and from them it is clear that over the centuries little change took place in teaching methods or in the range of authors read. Between the ages of about 7 and 14 boys and girls could attend an elementary school run by a γραμματιστής or *litterator*. In *The Dream* Lucian presents an allegorical dramatisation of the decision to be made next: he must choose between apprenticeship in a manual trade and secondary education, and he is won over by the allurements of Culture. Between the ages of 14 and 18 the small minority of boys whose parents could afford the fees attended the school of a γραμματικός or *grammaticus*. Since the fourth century BC the ideal had been an all-round education (ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία) which would produce men of culture and refinement. The emphasis on rhetoric in higher education meant that literature and composition increasingly took precedence in secondary schools over such subjects as music, dance, athletics, mathematics and astronomy. As the spoken languages continued to change and

<sup>14</sup> Marrou (1956), Cribiore (2001); see also *CHCL* 1 22–41. Morgan (1998) places more emphasis on the fluidity of the system.

develop, writers and educators became ever more conscious of correct usage, and so-called Atticists opposed the use in prose and formal speech of vocabulary and syntax without precedent in 'good' Attic writers of the fifth and fourth centuries BC (see pp. 6, 157). Pupils learnt to write in an idiom far removed from their everyday speech; and it was possible for a Lucian, living in a remote part of the Roman Empire and perhaps not a native speaker of Greek, to learn to express himself in an elegant approximation to the classical language. In secondary education there was a broadly predictable range of texts with Homer at the core; Euripides, Menander and Demosthenes were also popular.<sup>15</sup> These were read for their fine style and their ethical content. In the east the superiority of Greek art and culture was never questioned, and Latin was taught in schools only to a basic level, if at all. Educated Romans, by contrast, were expected to be familiar with Greek language and culture.

For further education after the age of about eighteen young men whose families could afford it paid to attend the lectures of a σοφιστής (*philosophus*) or ῥήτωρ (*orator*).<sup>16</sup> Experts tended to gather together in certain cities, which came to have the atmosphere of university towns. Athens, Alexandria and Rome were thriving centres of learning. In the first and second centuries AD Rhodes, Smyrna, Ephesus and Ionia in general had many 'schools', and Lucian will probably have attended one of these.<sup>17</sup> Teachers of rhetoric aimed to produce pupils who could compose or extemporise speeches; they read Demosthenes as a model of style, and through graded series of exercises (προγυμνάσματα) led their students from the telling of simple narratives and fables to full-blown rhetorical compositions. As practice for forensic oratory, pupils were required to write and declaim speeches for both defence and prosecution in preposterously improbable hypothetical cases. Each type of speech was prescriptively divided and subdivided into constituent sections; sententious wit and verbal point were highly valued. Constant practice made it possible for some sophists to declaim extempore (σχεδιάζειν) on any topic suggested by their audience.<sup>18</sup> Lucian performed before men familiar with the literary canon and sensitive to every rhetorical and lexical nuance.<sup>19</sup>

Sophists and rhetors were particularly prominent in the second century, not only as educators but also as public performers of display rhetoric and sometimes as representatives of their cities at the highest levels of government. The period AD 60–230 is commonly referred to as the Second Sophistic, a term coined by the third-century writer Philostratus in his *Lives of the Sophists* to claim

a link between the sophists of the Classical period and those nearer to his own times who were noted for their public performances or outstanding rhetorical abilities.<sup>20</sup> Philostratus' work gives a vivid picture of these notable practitioners, who operated particularly in Athens and the cities of western Asia Minor. Some practised in court; others gave master-classes in rhetoric; many performed in lecture-halls, theatres and palaces, attracting vast crowds of well-informed and critical auditors. Performances seem often to have begun with a short preliminary talk (προολογία, διόλεξις) delivered from a seated position; then for his main piece (μελέτη) the sophist would stand.<sup>21</sup> His deportment, clothing, physiognomy, voice and delivery would all be carefully scrutinised. He would be expected to be able to modulate his tone and to vary his style in accordance with the topic; to use metaphor, apostrophe, hyperbole and all the devices of rhetoric to give new life to hackneyed themes; to adopt the persona of historical characters of the Classical period in order to argue for or against a course of action in a deliberative speech; to bestow elegant praise on the city in which he performed or on the governor of a province; to reinforce the notion of shared culture through suitable allusion to well-known authors and texts; and in general to mingle pleasure with instruction, to season the devices of rhetoric with a soupçon of philosophy, history or science. A passionate performance could evoke wild applause and adulation;<sup>22</sup> a solecism, a hesitation or a slip of the tongue could lead to unwelcome hilarity and embarrassing failure.<sup>23</sup> Often a sophist's pupils would attend him as claqueurs, or conspire to discompose a rival.<sup>24</sup> Eminent sophists like Herodes, Scopelian, Polemo and Aristides were fêted by their native cities,<sup>25</sup> were employed as ambassadors on their behalf,<sup>26</sup> and were granted professorial chairs and immunity from taxes by the philhellene Antonine emperors.<sup>27</sup>

Philostratus makes no mention of Lucian, who presumably did not fit his idea of a sophist; but Lucian is none the less a product of the Second Sophistic, exploiting the shared culture and rhetorical training sometimes in more conventional descriptive or forensic works but more often to satirise the excesses of contemporary rhetors, grammarians, and in particular philosophers, whose hypocrisies he never tires of holding up to ridicule. In the majority of his works

<sup>20</sup> On the Second Sophistic in general see Bowie (1974), Whitmarsh (2005). Philostratus says that in the First Sophistic abstract philosophical themes were treated, whereas the Second Sophistic specialised in declamation based on historical events (*VS* 481).

<sup>21</sup> Philostr. *VS* 519.

<sup>22</sup> Philostr. *VS* 537.

<sup>23</sup> On details of these performances see Anderson (1986), Ghiron-Bistagne and Schouler (1987), Pernot (1993), Gleason (1995), Schmitz (1997).

<sup>24</sup> Philostr. *VS* 579–80.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. 589, 595, etc.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. 520, 531, 600. Whether they went on embassies *qua* sophists, or whether only those who were in any case members of high-born families were chosen, is disputed: see Bowersock (1969), Bowie (1982), Anderson (1989), Brunt (1994). Puech (2002) provides a handlist of rhetors and sophists.

<sup>27</sup> Philostr. *VS* 589.

<sup>15</sup> Criore (2001) 192–215. In Latin the most popular authors were Virgil, Terence, Sallust and Cicero.

<sup>16</sup> Kaster (1988), Bowersock (1969).

<sup>17</sup> *Twice Accused* 27 περί τῆν Ἰωνίαν . . . πλᾶζόμενον . . . ἐπαιδεύσας, says Rhetoric.

<sup>18</sup> Not all had this facility; Aristides needed time for preparation (Philostr. *VS* 583).

<sup>19</sup> Although he does attack over-fastidious speakers (see p. 00) and the debasement of oratory (*Tips for Orators*), the chief contemporary object of his satire is not rhetoricians but the hypocrisy of sham philosophers.

conventional rhetorical techniques are used to produce not, as in the ideal sophistic performance, a comfortable effect of smoothly cultured advocacy or jovial praise, but instead fundamentally negative attacks on the pretensions, excesses, self-contradictions and inconsistencies of the contemporary world, of the Classical past idealised in the schools of rhetoric, and of the world of myth. This unique subversiveness may have helped to ensure the survival of Lucian's works.

### 3 LANGUAGE AND STYLE

From the Hellenistic period onwards educated Greeks became increasingly aware of change in their language. The *koine*, Greek as commonly spoken and as employed in written documents and non-literary treatises, was clearly different from Classical Attic in pronunciation and in certain aspects of vocabulary and syntax. The dual number, for example, had fallen out of use; contracted nouns like νοῦς and πλοῦς were moving from the second to the third declension; οὐ and μή were less clearly differentiated in use; the optative mood was less common than in Classical Attic, and was often used not in accordance with earlier norms; and Attic ττ in words like θάλαττα had long ago given way to σσ.<sup>28</sup> Grammarians compiled prescriptive works in an attempt to define correct usage.<sup>29</sup> At the same time, oratory in particular was seen as categorisable between the poles of 'Atticist' and 'Asianist'. Extreme Atticists, purists in language, avoided all vocabulary unattested in Classical authors, affected exclusively Attic words such as ἀμυγέπη, δήπουθεν, μῶν, ἄττα and ἦ δ' ὅς, and criticised in the speeches and writing of others any falling away from purist norms. No one seems to have claimed the title 'Asianist'; but those less concerned with the minutiae of Attic usage and who cultivated a florid and exuberant style of rhythmical prose which aimed for emotional effect through assonance, word-play and hyperbole, ran the risk of being criticised for tumid Asianist bombast.<sup>30</sup> In reality most writers combined these characteristics in varying degrees. In so far as he lacks florid exuberance, Lucian may be classified as an Atticist writer;<sup>31</sup> but he does not affect recherché Attic vocabulary, and his usage, for example in respect of οὐ vs μή and in the moods in conditional clauses, has *koine* elements.<sup>32</sup> In *Lexiphanes* and *A Ship of the Tongue* he mocks contemporary hyperatticists. He writes with an easy grace, and in a style that can make

<sup>28</sup> On ττ ~ σσ see pp. 151–60.

<sup>29</sup> See Whitmarsh (2005) 43–5.

<sup>30</sup> On Atticism in general see Horrocks (1997) 79–101, Swain (1996) 17–64, Anderson (1993) 86–100, Schmitz (1997) 67–96, Whitmarsh (2005) 41–56.

<sup>31</sup> On Lucian's Atticism see Schmid 1 (1887) 216–432, Deferrari (1916), DuMesnil (1867).

<sup>32</sup> On οὐ ~ μή see *Fly* 6 τῆι πτήσει . . . , *Timon* 20 μή, 26 οὐκ ἀνέχεσθαι, nn.; on the moods *Dream* 8 οὐ . . . γένοιο, *Lit. Prom.* 5 ἦι . . . , *Fly* 5 ὥς μή . . . , *Timon* 37 βοῦλει . . . , 44 εἰ . . . ἴδοιμι . . . , 51 ὅποσα ἂν ἐθέλοι, 54 καταλίποι, *Sea-gods* 11.1 ἔστ' ἂν . . . nn.

even mundane material entertaining. This apparently artless simplicity (ἀφέλεια) extends to syntax: his sentences are generally paratactic (καὶ . . . καὶ . . . καὶ . . .) rather than elaborately periodic. In the dialogues, which are already a combination of Platonic and comic elements, he exploits a further range of literary works, subsuming and renewing earlier genres: *Dialogues of the Sea-gods* rework scenes from Theocritus and Homer, *Dialogues of Courtesans* are inspired by New Comedy, and *A True History* alludes to paradoxographical literature and the novel. His vocabulary is chiefly derived from Plato, Xenophon, and Old and New Comedy;<sup>33</sup> this confirms his claim to have combined dialogue and comedy on the level of genre.

Lucian's construction of the past comes from his reading of literature and from the schools of rhetoric. In works such as *Timon* he evokes in a version of Classical Attic Greek a picture of Classical Athens. There are errors of detail and anachronisms,<sup>34</sup> some of which may be deliberate 'breaches of the dramatic illusion' comparable to the asides and topical references in Aristophanes.

No stylistic criteria have yet been devised which might help to put Lucian's works in chronological order.

### 4 PAST AND PRESENT IN LUCIAN

Atticism and the imitation of Classical models may be seen as one aspect of an attempt to keep alive or re-enact the past glories of Greek culture. Greek writers of the Second Sophistic make surprisingly few references to Roman power and institutions. In part this is the result of their rhetorical education: speeches practised in the schools of rhetoric were set in Classical times or in the reign of Alexander, when Greeks still had the power to influence political events. It has been argued that this affirmation of Greek culture and neglect of the reality of Roman power was one way in which educated Greeks, living prosperously in peace but without influence on world events, could come to terms with their place in the empire.<sup>35</sup> It is possible also to see the relationship between ruling Romans and politically subordinate but culturally superior Greeks as one of constantly negotiated exchange: the ideal is enlightened patronage, the endowment of chairs of rhetoric by philhellene emperors, and official imperial acknowledgment of the

<sup>33</sup> Schmid 1 (1887) 401. Householder (1941) catalogues Lucian's allusions; Anderson, (1976) and (1978), argues that many of these are either from the openings of works or from quotations in well-known texts; Macleod (1974) shows, however, that Lucian's style is based on a close familiarity with Plato, Menander and Aristophanes. Camerotto (1998) 261–302 argues that his Cynicism could be appreciated by πεπαιδευμένοι and ἰδιῶται alike. On Lucian and Homer see Bouquiaux-Simon (1968), Kindstrand (1973).

<sup>34</sup> See *Timon* 49–51 nn. On Lucian's relationship with Classical Athens see Delz (1950); but also the criticisms of Bompair (1958) 519–27.

<sup>35</sup> Bowie (1974). But this lack of power should not be overemphasised; notable Greeks held the consulship and other high offices: Bowersock (1969) 30–58, Schmitz (1997) 50–63.

excellence of Greek oratory and philosophy; the reality, as depicted by Lucian in *On Salaried Posts*, might be an altogether grubbier relationship, in which the wealthy but despotic Roman patron, eager to retain a Greek man of learning as a status symbol, inflicts a thousand humiliations on his wretched but conniving dependant.<sup>36</sup>

But Lucian's works are hardly the place to look for a balanced view of the relationship between Greek cultural nostalgia and the realities of Roman economic power; though important in his writings, these themes too undergo characteristic treatment. In *The Dream*, for example, Lucian bases his narrative on Xenophon's story of the Choice of Heracles and on the early career of Socrates (see pp. 93–7); but these allusions to the Classical past, far from lending authority to Lucian's choice, draw attention to his shortcomings in comparison with these distinguished predecessors. *Timon* is set in Classical Athens; but the existence there already of spongers, charlatans and ingratiating hangers-on gives the lie to idealising views of that time. The language of Attic Greece is turned against its own origins, and a new Old Comedy arises, burlesquing the gods and treating self-important citizens with irreverence. Charlatans, parasites and impostors certainly existed in Lucian's day, but it is significant that these were objects of ridicule already in Classical times: Aristophanes has undignified gods in *Birds* and *Frogs*, mocks philosophers in *Clouds*, and has spongers humiliated in *Wealth*, while the Platonic Socrates systematically strips bare the pretensions of his sophist interlocutors. Conversely, Lucian neglects potential objects for satire which might seem particularly characteristic of his own age: he may follow Aristophanes in mocking the traditional Olympian gods, but he ignores popular contemporary cults such as Mithraism, the fashion for incubation in temples, the worship of spiritual beings or daimons, the official cults of imperial Rome, and above all astrology, a controversial and fashionable 'science' which could have lent itself to satiric treatment.<sup>37</sup>

In recent scholarship Lucian's engagement with contemporary issues has been much debated. He has been portrayed as a facile journalist and as a serious critic of morals; as a writer closely tied to his own times, and as a practitioner of literary *mimesis* more concerned with the revivification of Greek literature than with morality.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> For a discussion of *On Salaried Posts* see Whitmarsh (2001) 279–93.

<sup>37</sup> Caster (1937) is a useful discussion of Lucian and contemporary religion. On astrology see Barton (1994), Long (1982), Cumont (1912). In the *Alexander* Lucian touches on the subject of cults. *On Astrology*, part of the Lucianic corpus but possibly not by Lucian, is in any case uncritical.

<sup>38</sup> There is a survey of these views in Goldhill (2002) 93–106. On German attitudes to Lucian see Holzberg (1988) and Baumbach (2002). Bompaire (1958) was highly influential in advocating *mimesis* (cf. Anderson (1994)), but Baldwin (1973) and Robert (1980) 393–436 continued to argue for close links with contemporary affairs.

## 5 PHILOSOPHY

Lucian satirises philosophers in a number of works. In *The Sale of Lives* their value is shown to be very low, in *Twice Accused* they are arraigned at length, and in *Hermotimus* all sects are shown to be equally unreliable. But he reserves his greatest scorn for the self-styled Stoics who preach ascetic virtue while practising vice and indulgence (cf. *Timon* 56–7). The object of his attacks is chiefly hypocrisy, and he does not engage with specific tenets of the philosophical schools in detail. Exempted from his general mockery and raised to heroic status as its instruments are the Cynics, in particular Diogenes and Menippus, who in works such as *Icaromenippus* and *Dialogues of the Dead* fearlessly challenge men and gods alike.

Cynicism or 'Doggishness' owed many of its characteristics to Diogenes (fourth century BC). Exiled from his native city of Sinope on the Black Sea he moved to Athens and Corinth, and evolved a way of life with tenets based on a variety of sources. Above all things he prized the distinction between virtue and vice, and he held all else subordinate to this; he lived in accordance with nature rather than with custom or convention, having few possessions, begging for his food, living in a tub, and performing all natural functions in public. Like Socrates, he practised his philosophy in the streets, rejecting education and culture and attacking social conventions, intellectualism, wealth, power and the family. A life of self-sufficiency, poverty and asceticism, he argued, was most likely to bring about happiness and virtue. He named his way of life after the dog, a creature shameless in its behaviour but clever at discriminating between true and false (e.g. Odysseus' Argos). Living his life in the city's public space, he engaged with his fellow-citizens using a combination of wit, insult, and physical and verbal obscenity. His quips and ripostes, though at first hearing gross, naive or perplexing, were designed to cut through pretension and to get to the essence of right living. He is said to have written a *Politeia* and tragedies expounding his beliefs, and his followers published voluminously. Cynicism was a widely influential way of looking at the world, and every city had its mendicant practitioners as well as citizens who professed Cynicism while living more conventional lives.<sup>39</sup>

Lucian's links with Cynicism are extensive and obvious. His essentially destructive mockery of humankind and its institutions, both social and religious, owes much to Cynic philosophy, and the famous Cynics Menippus and Diogenes appear in several dialogues: in *Icaromenippus* the philosopher takes upward flight and shamelessly criticises both gods and men; in *Zeus Confuted* a certain Cyniscus annoys Zeus by questioning divine omnipotence; and in *Dialogues of the Dead* both Menippus and Diogenes interrogate and mock deceased celebrities and statesmen. Menippus indeed may have influenced Lucian more than is now apparent. A Cynic writer of the third century, he composed satirical works, now lost, in a

<sup>39</sup> On Cynicism see Dudley (1938), Goulet-Cazé (1990), Branham and Goulet-Cazé (1996).

mixture of prose and verse with titles such as *Sale of Diogenes* and *Nekyia*, which presumably influenced Lucian's *Sale of Lives* and underworld scenes.<sup>40</sup>

Diogenes mocked with a serious protreptic purpose; can Lucian, too, be seen as σπουδογέλοιος? The case is put neatly by Photius, a ninth-century patriarch of Constantinople, who, having read some of Lucian's works, observed 'although he mocks and makes fun of the opinions of others, he does not make any positive statement about his own preferred creed; unless one argues that his philosophy is to have no philosophy'.<sup>41</sup> Many of Lucian's works can be read as 'serio-comic' in the Cynic mould; and if it is objected that he has nothing positive to affirm, he might reply that Cynicism is opposed to systematised philosophy, that living virtuously without the hypocrisy satirised in his works is the most important thing for a human being, and that many a true word is spoken in jest. It might further be argued that Lucian, in his peripatetic performances throughout Europe and Asia Minor, might have seemed a Cynic voice yapping at the polished sophists who were later found worthy of record by Philostratus and employing the philosophical dialogue form against the philosophers themselves. But if this is an important aspect of Lucian, it is not a consistent one. Not all his works are marked by a Cynic tone, and the urbane Atticism of his style is deployed in Cynic and non-Cynic works alike.

## 6 A NOTE ON THE TEXT

Copies of individual works by Lucian probably began to circulate from the time when each was delivered in public.<sup>42</sup> It is unlikely that he ever himself arranged them as a collection. Perhaps as early as the fifth century a corpus of works by or attributed to him was put together. He was popular in the Byzantine period as a model for good Attic style,<sup>43</sup> and in the Renaissance as a moralist,<sup>44</sup> so that more than 125 manuscripts containing all or a significant part of this corpus survive, the earliest dating to the tenth century. They fall into two sub-groups, generally

<sup>40</sup> Although Lucian does not as a rule mingle prose and verse like Petronius in the *Satyricon* or Seneca in the *Apocolocyntosis*, he does have Zeus quote poetry at length in *Zeus Rants*, and he did compose epigrams and a mock tragedy entitled *Gout*. On Menippus see Helm (1906), who argued for close imitation by Lucian, McCarthy (1934), who conclusively disproves this, and Hall (1981) 64–150.

<sup>41</sup> τὰς γὰρ ἄλλων κωμωιδῶν καὶ διαπαιζῶν δόξας, αὐτὸς ἦν θειάζει οὐ τιθῆσι, πλὴν εἴ τις αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἐρεῖ τὸ μηδὲν δοξάζειν (*Bibl.* 128, II 102 Henry).

<sup>42</sup> On 'publication' in the ancient world see pp. 2, 120.

<sup>43</sup> Several manuscripts of Lucian contain marginal annotations (scholia). Some of these are elementary explanations of less familiar words; others provide information on historical and mythological characters. In his own copy of the text (MS E) Arethas, bishop of Caesarea in the late tenth century, wrote short essays on philosophical points and abusive attacks on Lucian's unenlightened folly. The scholia were edited by Rabe (1906). On Arethas: Wilson (1983) 120–35.

<sup>44</sup> For Lucian's influence on European literature see Robinson (1979) 65–163, Ligota and Panizza (2007); on his popularity in the Renaissance Deligiannis (2006).

called β and γ. Of the works in this selection, *A Literary Prometheus* is preserved in γ only, the rest in both classes. For present purposes it has seemed best to present the most important manuscript variants (some of which may go back to Lucian himself) using the following abbreviations:

M = reading of all manuscripts which contain the work

m = reading of some of these manuscripts.

For these details I have relied chiefly on the edition of Macleod and, where available, that of Bompaire, together with reviews of their work.

Manuscripts of ancient authors invariably contain errors, which have arisen in the process of copying and recopying over many generations. Textual critics have worked to restore original readings by conjectural emendation. In the notes at the foot of each page of text such emendations are attributed to the scholars who made them, and the manuscript readings are given directly afterwards (e.g. 'γῆ Harmon: τε m: δέ m' means that the manuscripts have either τε or δέ, but Harmon restored the true reading, γῆ). When the choice is between manuscript readings, those not adopted are mentioned only if they might possibly be right. By the same token, a few conjectures are mentioned which, though attractive, are not certain corrections.

LUCIAN: A SELECTION

I  
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΝΥΠΝΙΟΥ ΗΤΟΙ ΒΙΟΣ ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΥ

- Ἄρτι μὲν ἐπεπαύμην εἰς τὰ διδασκαλεῖα φοιτῶν ἤδη τὴν ἡλικίαν 1  
πρόσηβος ὢν, ὃ δὲ πατὴρ ἐσκοπεῖτο μετὰ τῶν φίλων ὃ τι καὶ διδάξ-  
αιτό με. τοῖς πλείστοις οὖν ἔδοξεν παιδεῖα μὲν καὶ πόνου πολλοῦ  
καὶ χρόνου μακροῦ καὶ δαπάνης οὐ μικρᾶς καὶ τύχης δεῖσθαι λαμ-  
5 πρᾶς, τὰ δ' ἡμέτερα μικρά τε εἶναι καὶ ταχεῖάν τινα τὴν ἐπικουρίαν  
ἀπαιτεῖν· εἰ δέ τινα τέχνην τῶν βαναύσων τούτων ἐκμάθοιμι, τὸ  
μὲν πρῶτον εὐθύς ἂν αὐτὸς ἔχειν τὰ ἀρκούντα παρὰ τῆς τέχνης  
καὶ μηκέτ' οἰκόσιτος εἶναι τηλικούτος ὢν, οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν δὲ καὶ τὸν  
πατέρα εὐφρανεῖν ἀποφέρων ἂν τὸ γιγνόμενον.
- 10 Δευτέρως οὖν σκέψεως ἀρχὴ προὔτεθη, τίς ἀρίστη τῶν τεχνῶν 2  
καὶ ῥαίστη ἐκμαθεῖν καὶ ἀνδρὶ ἐλευθέρῳ πρέπουσα καὶ πρόχειρον  
ἔχουσα τὴν χορηγίαν καὶ διαρκῆ τὸν πόρον. ἄλλου τοίνυν ἄλλην  
ἐπαινοῦντος, ὥς ἕκαστος γνώμης ἢ ἐμπειρίας εἶχεν, ὃ πατὴρ εἰς τὸν  
θεῖον ἀπιδῶν – παρῆν γὰρ ὁ πρὸς μητρὸς θεῖος, ἄριστος ἔρμογλύ-  
15 φος εἶναι δοκῶν καὶ λιθοξόος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα εὐδόκιμος. Οὐ θέμις,  
εἶπεν, ἄλλην τέχνην ἐπικρατεῖν σοῦ παρόντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦτον ἄγε –  
δείξας ἐμέ – δίδασκε παραλαβὼν λίθων ἐργάτην ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ  
συναρμοστήν καὶ ἔρμογλυφέα· δύναται γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο, φύσεώς γε,  
ὥς οἶσθα, ἔχων δεξιῶς.
- 20 Ἐτεκμαίρετο δὲ ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ κηροῦ παιδιαῖς· ὁπότε γὰρ ἀφεθείην  
ὑπὸ τῶν διδασκάλων, ἀποξέων ἂν τὸν κηρὸν ἢ βόας ἢ ἵππους ἢ καὶ  
νῆ Δι' ἀνθρώπους ἀνέπλαττον, εἰκότως, ὥς ἔδόκουν τῷ πατρί· ἐφ'  
οἷς παρὰ μὲν τῶν διδασκάλων πληγὰς ἐλάμβανον, τότε δὲ ἔπαινος  
εἰς τὴν εὐφυΐαν καὶ ταῦτα ἦν, καὶ χρηστὰς εἶχον ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας  
25 ὥς ἐν βραχεῖ μαθήσομαι τὴν τέχνην, ἀπ' ἐκείνης γε τῆς πλαστικῆς.
- Ἄμα τε οὖν ἐπιτήδειος ἔδόκει ἡμέρα τέχνης ἐνάρχεσθαι, καὶ γὰρ 3  
παραδεδομένη τῷ θεῷ μὰ τὸν Δι' οὐ σφόδρα τῷ πράγματι ἀχθό-  
μενος, ἀλλὰ μοι καὶ παιδιάν τινα οὐκ ἀτερπῆ ἔδοκει ἔχειν καὶ πρὸς  
τοὺς ἡλικιώτας ἐπιδείξιν, εἰ φαινοίμην θεοῦς τε γλύφων καὶ ἀγαλμά-  
30 τια μικρά τινα κατασκευάζων ἐμαυτῷ τε καὶ ἐκείνοις οἷς προηιρούμην.  
καὶ τό γε πρῶτον ἐκείνο καὶ σύννηθες τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐγίγνετο.  
ἐγκοπέα γὰρ τινά μοι δούς ὁ θεῖος ἐκέλευσέ μοι ἡρέμα καθιεῖσθαι

15 καὶ om. m    λιθοξόος . . . εὐδόκιμος del. Schmieder    εὐδόκιμος Bos: -οις M  
17 διδάσκου m: καὶ διδάσκου m    19 τυχὼν δεξιῶς m: τυχὼν δεξιᾶς m    22 εἰκότας  
Naber: εἰκότας Mras



πλακὸς ἐν μέσῳ κειμένης, ἐπειπὼν τὸ κοινὸν Ἀρχὴ δέ τοι ἤμισυ παντός, σκληρότερον δὲ κατενεγκόντος ὑπ' ἀπειρίας κατεάγη μὲν ἡ πλάξ, ὁ δὲ ἀγανακτήσας σκυτάλην τινὰ πλησίον κειμένην λαβὼν οὐ πρῶως οὐδὲ προτρεπτικῶς μου κατήρξατο, ὥστε δάκρυά μοι τὰ προοίμια τῆς τέχνης.

4 Ἀποδράς οὖν ἐκείθεν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀφικνοῦμαι συνεχῆς ἀναλύζων καὶ δακρύων τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς ὑπόπλεως, καὶ διηγοῦμαι τὴν σκυτάλην καὶ τοὺς μώλωπας ἐδείκνυσιν, καὶ κατηγόρουν πολλήν τινα ὠμότητα, προσθεὶς ὅτι ὑπὸ φθόνου ταῦτα ἔδρασεν, μὴ αὐτὸν ὑπερβάλωμαι κατὰ τὴν τέχνην. ἀνακτησαμένης δὲ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ 10 πολλὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ λοιδορησαμένης, ἐπεὶ νύξ ἐπῆλθεν κατέδραρον ἔτι ἔνδακρυς καὶ τὴν σκυτάλην ἐννοῶν.

5 Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων γελάσιμα καὶ μεираκιώδη τὰ εἰρημένα· τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ οὐκέτι εὐκαταφρόνητα, ὧ ἄνδρες, ἀκούσεσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ φιληκόων ἀκροατῶν δεόμενα· ἵνα γὰρ καθ' Ὁμηρον εἶπω, 15

θεῖός μοι ἐνύπνιον ἦλθεν ὄνειρος  
ἀμβροσίην διὰ νύκτα,

ἐναργῆς οὕτως ὥστε μὴδὲν ἀπολείπεσθαι τῆς ἀληθείας. ἔτι γοῦν καὶ μετὰ τοσοῦτον χρόνον τὰ τε σχήματά μοι τῶν φανέντων ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς παραμένει καὶ ἡ φωνὴ τῶν ἀκουσθέντων ἔναυλος· οὕτω 20 σαφῆ πάντα ἦν.

6 Δύο γυναῖκες λαβόμεναι ταῖν χεροῖν εἰλκόν με πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἑκατέρα μάλα βιαίως καὶ καρτερῶς· μικροῦ γοῦν με διεσπάσαντο πρὸς ἀλλήλας φιλοτιμούμεναι· καὶ γὰρ ἄρτι μὲν ἂν ἡ ἑτέρα ἐπεκράτει καὶ παρὰ μικρὸν ὄλον εἶχέ με, ἄρτι δ' ἂν αὖθις ὑπὸ τῆς ἑτέρας εἰχόμεν. 25 ἐβόων δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἑκατέρα, ἡ μὲν ὡς αὐτῆς ὄντα με κεκτῆσθαι βούλοιο, ἡ δὲ ὡς μάτην τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀντιποιοῖτο. ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν ἐργατικὴ καὶ ἀνδρική καὶ αὐχμηρὰ τὴν κόμην, τῷ χεῖρε τύλων ἀνάπλεως, διεζωσμένη τὴν ἐσθῆτα, τιτάνου καταγέμουσα, οἷος ἦν ὁ θεῖος ὅποτε ξέοι τοὺς λίθους· ἡ ἑτέρα δὲ μάλα εὐπρόσωπος καὶ τὸ 30 σχῆμα εὐπρεπὲς καὶ κόσμιος τὴν ἀναβολήν.

Τέλος δ' οὖν ἐφῴσά μοι δικάζειν ὅποτεράι βουλοίμην συνεῖναι αὐτῶν. προτέρα δὲ ἡ σκληρὰ ἐκείνη καὶ ἀνδρώδης ἔλεξεν·

7 Ἐγώ, φίλε παῖ, Ἑρμογλυφικὴ τέχνη εἰμί, ἦν χθὲς ἦρξω μανθάνειν, οἰκεία τέ σοι καὶ συγγενὴς μητρόθεν. ὁ τε γὰρ πάππος σου – εἰποῦσα 35 τοῦνομα τοῦ μητροπάτορος λιθοξόος ἦν καὶ τῷ θεῷ ἀμφοτέρω

6 ἀνολύζων m: ὀλολύζων m: ἀνολούζων m 8 σκυτάλην Steigerthal: νύκτα ὀλην M 35 μητρόθεν Fritzsche: οἰκοθεν M

καὶ μάλα εὐδοκιμεῖτον δι' ἡμᾶς. εἰ δ' ἐθέλοις λήρων μὲν καὶ φληνάφων τῶν παρὰ ταύτης ἀπέχεσθαι δείξασα τὴν ἑτέραν – ἐπεσθαι δὲ καὶ συνοικεῖν ἐμοί, πρῶτα μὲν θρέψῃ γεννικῶς καὶ τοὺς ὤμους ἕξεις καρτερούς, φθόνου δὲ παντὸς ἀλλότριος ἔση· καὶ οὔποτε ἄπει ἐπὶ 5 τὴν ἀλλοδαπήν, τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους καταλιπὼν, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ λόγοις ἐπαινέσονται σε πάντες.

Μὴ μυσαχθῆς δὲ τοῦ σώματος τὸ εὐτελὲς μὴδὲ τῆς ἐσθῆτος τὸ 8 πιναρόν· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοιούτων ὀρμώμενος καὶ Φειδίας ἐκείνος ἔδειξε τὸν Δία καὶ Πολύκλειτος τὴν Ἥραν εἰργάσατο καὶ Μύρων ἐπηνέθη 10 καὶ Πραξιτέλης ἐθαυμάσθη. προσκυνοῦνται γοῦν οὗτοι μετὰ τῶν θεῶν. εἰ δὴ τούτων εἰς γένοιο, πῶς μὲν οὐ κλεινὸς αὐτὸς παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις γένοιο, ζηλωτὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀποδείξεις, περιβλεπτον δὲ ἀποφανεῖς καὶ τὴν πατρίδα;

Ταῦτα καὶ ἔτι τούτων πλείονα, διαπταίουσα καὶ βαρβαρίζουσα 15 πάμπολλα, εἶπεν ἡ Τέχνη, μάλα δὲ σπουδῇ συνείρουσα καὶ πείθειν με πειρωμένη, ἀλλ' οὐκέτι μέμνημαι· τὰ πλεῖστα γὰρ ἤδη μου τὴν μνήμην διέφυγεν.

Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἐπαύσατο, ἄρχεται ἡ ἑτέρα ὧδέ πως· 9

Ἐγώ δέ, ὦ τέκνον, Παιδεία εἰμί ἤδη συνήθης σοι καὶ γνωρίμη, 20 εἰ καὶ μὴδέπω εἰς τέλος μου πεπείρασαι. ἡλικία μὲν οὖν τὰ ἀγαθὰ ποριῇ λιθοξόος γενόμενος, αὕτη προεῖρηκεν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὅτι μὴ ἐργάτης ἔση τῷ σώματι πονῶν κἂν τούτῳ τὴν ἅπασαν ἐλπίδα τοῦ βίου τεθειμένος, ἀφανὴς μὲν αὐτὸς ὢν, ὀλίγα καὶ ἀγεννῆ λαμβάνων, ταπεινὸς τὴν γνώμην, εὐτελὲς δὲ τὴν πρόοδον, οὔτε φίλοις 25 ἐπιδικάσιμος οὔτε ἐχθροῖς φοβερὸς οὔτε τοῖς πολίταις ζηλωτός, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ μόνον ἐργάτης καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολλοῦ δήμου εἷς, αἰεὶ τὸν προὔχοντα ὑποπτήσων καὶ τὸν λέγειν δυνάμενον θεραπεύων, λαγῶ βίον ζῶν καὶ τοῦ κρείττονος ἔρμαιον ὢν· εἰ δὲ καὶ Φειδίας ἢ Πολύκλειτος γένοιο καὶ πολλὰ θαυμαστά ἐξεργάσαιο, τὴν μὲν τέχνην 30 ἅπαντες ἐπαινέσονται, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ὅστις τῶν ἰδόντων, εἰ νοῦν ἔχοι, εὔξαιτ' ἂν σοὶ ὁμοίος γενέσθαι· οἷος γὰρ ἂν ἦις, βάνουσος καὶ χειρῶναξ καὶ ἀποχειροβίωτος νομισθήσῃ.

Ἦν δ' ἐμοὶ πείθηι, πρῶτον μὲν σοι πολλὰ ἐπιδείξω παλαιῶν 10 ἀνδρῶν ἔργα καὶ πράξεις θαυμαστάς καὶ λόγους αὐτῶν ἀπαγγεῶν, καὶ πάντων ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔμπειρον ἀποφανῶ, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν, ὅπερ σου κυριώτατόν ἐστι, κατακοσμήσω πολλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς κοσμήμασι – σωφροσύνῃ, δικαιοσύνῃ, εὐσεβείᾳ, πραότητι, ἐπιεικείᾳ, συνέσει, καρτερίᾳ, τῷ τῶν καλῶν ἔρωτι, τῇ πρὸς τὰ σεμνότατα ὀρμῇ·

ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀκήρατος ὡς ἀληθῶς κόσμος. λήσει δέ σε οὔτε παλαιὸν οὐδὲν οὔτε νῦν γενέσθαι δέον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα προόψει μετ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ὅλως ἅπαντα ὁπόσα ἐστί, τὰ τε θεία τὰ τ' ἀνθρώπινα, οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν σε διδάξομαι.

**11** Καὶ ὁ νῦν πένης ὁ τοῦ δείνους, ὁ βουλευσάμενός τι περὶ ἀγεν-  
νοῦς οὕτω τέχνης, μετ' ὀλίγον ἅπασι ζηλωτὸς καὶ ἐπιφθονος ἔσθι,  
τιμώμενος καὶ ἔπαινούμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις εὐδοκιμῶν καὶ ὑπὸ  
τῶν γένει καὶ πλούτῳ προϋχόντων ἀποβλεπόμενος, ἐσθῆτα μὲν  
τοιαύτην ἀμπεχόμενος – δείξασα τὴν ἑαυτῆς· πάνυ δὲ λαμπρὰν  
ἐφόρει – ἀρχῆς δὲ καὶ προεδρίας ἀξιούμενος. κἄν που ἀποδημῆς,  
οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς ἀγνώως οὐδ' ἀφανῆς ἔσθι· τοιαυτὰ σοι  
περιθῆσω τὰ γνωρίσματα ὥστε τῶν ὁρώντων ἕκαστος τὸν πλη-  
**12** σίον κινήσας δείξει σε τῷ δακτύλῳ, Οὔτος ἐκείνος, λέγων. ἂν δέ  
τι σπουδῆς ἄξιον ἢ τοὺς φίλους ἢ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην καταλαμ-  
βάνῃ, εἰς σὲ πάντες ἀποβλέπονται· κἄν πού τι λέγων τύχης,  
κεχηνότες οἱ πολλοὶ ἀκούσονται, θαυμάζοντες καὶ εὐδαιμονίζον-  
τές σε τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν λόγων καὶ τὸν πατέρα τῆς εὐποτίας.  
ὁ δὲ λέγουσιν, ὡς ἄρα καὶ ἀθάνατοι γίνονται τινες ἐξ ἀνθρώπων,  
τοῦτό σοι περιποιήσω· καὶ γὰρ ἦν αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ βίου ἀπέλθεις,  
οὔποτε παύσῃ συνὼν τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις καὶ προσομιλῶν τοῖς  
ἀρίστοις. ὁρᾷς τὸν Δημοσθένην ἐκείνον, τίνος υἱὸν ὄντα ἐγὼ ἡλίκον  
ἐποίησα. ὁρᾷς τὸν Αἰσχίνην, ὡς τυμπανιστρίας υἱὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' ὅμως  
αὐτὸν δι' ἐμὲ Φίλιππος θεράπευεν. ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῇ  
Ἑρμογλυφικῇ ταύτῃ τραφεῖς, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα συνῆκεν τοῦ κρείτ-  
τονος καὶ δραπετεύσας παρ' αὐτῆς ἡυτομόλησεν ὡς ἐμέ, ἀκούεις ὡς  
παρὰ πάντων αἰδεταί.

**13** Ἄφεις δὲ αὖ τοὺς τηλικούτους καὶ τοιούτους ἄνδρας καὶ πράξ-  
εις λαμπρὰς καὶ λόγους σεμνοὺς καὶ σχῆμα εὐπρεπὲς καὶ τιμὴν καὶ  
δόξαν καὶ ἔπαινον καὶ προεδρίας καὶ δύναμιν καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τὸ  
ἐπὶ λόγοις εὐδοκιμεῖν καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ συνέσει εὐδαιμονίζεσθαι, χιτῶνιόν  
τι πιναρὸν ἐνδύσῃ καὶ σχῆμα δουλοπρεπὲς ἀναλήψῃ καὶ μοχλία  
καὶ γλυφεῖα καὶ κοπέας καὶ κολαπτῆρας ἐν ταῖν χερσίν ἔξεις κάτω  
νενευκῶς εἰς τὸ ἔργον, χαμαιπετὴς καὶ χαμαιζήλος καὶ πάντα τρόπον  
ταπεινός, ἀνακύπτων δὲ οὐδέποτε οὐδὲ ἀνδρῶδες οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερον  
οὐδὲν ἐπινοῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἔργα ὅπως εὐρυθμα καὶ εὐσχήμονα  
ἔσται σοι προνοῶν, ὅπως δὲ αὐτὸς εὐρυθμός τε καὶ κόσμιος ἔσθι,  
ἥκιστα πεφροντικῶς, ἀλλ' ἀτιμότερον ποιῶν σεαυτὸν λίθων.

**14** Ταῦτα ἔτι λεγούσης αὐτῆς οὐ περιμείνας ἐγὼ τὸ τέλος τῶν  
λόγων ἀναστὰς ἀπεφηνάμην, καὶ τὴν ἄμορφον ἐκείνην καὶ ἐργατικὴν

ἀπολιπὼν μετέβαινον πρὸς τὴν Παιδείαν μάλα γεγηθώς, καὶ  
μάλιστα ἐπεὶ μοι καὶ εἰς νοῦν ἦλθεν ἡ σκυτάλη καὶ ὅτι πληγὰς εὐθύς  
οὐκ ὀλίγας ἀρχομένῳ μοι χθὲς ἐνετρίψατο. ἡ δὲ ἀπολειφθεῖσα τὸ μὲν  
πρῶτον ἡγανάκει καὶ τῷ χεῖρε συνεκρότει καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας συνέ-  
**5** πριε· τέλος δέ, ὥσπερ τὴν Νιόβην ἀκούομεν, ἐπεπῆγει καὶ εἰς λίθον  
μετεβέβλητο. εἰ δὲ παράδοξα ἔπαθεν, μὴ ἀπιστήσῃτε· θαυμαστοίοι  
γὰρ οἱ ὄνειροι.

Ἡ ἑτέρα δὲ πρὸς με ἀπιδουῖσα, Τοιγαροῦν ἀμείψομαί σε, ἔφη,  
τῆσδε τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι καλῶς τὴν δίκην ἐδίκασας, καὶ ἔλθε  
**10** ἡδη, ἐπίβηθι τούτου τοῦ ὀχήματος – δείξασά τι ὄχημα ὑποπτέρων  
ἵππων τινῶν τῷ Πηγάσῳ ἐοικότων – ὅπως εἰδῆς οἷα καὶ ἡλικία  
μὴ ἀκολουθήσας ἐμοὶ ἀγνοήσῃν ἐμελλες.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνῆλθον, ἡ μὲν ἤλαυνε καὶ ὑφηνιόχει, ἀρθεῖς δὲ εἰς ὕψος  
ἐγὼ ἐπεσκόπουν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑω ἀρξάμενος ἄχρι πρὸς τὰ ἐσπέρια πόλεις  
**15** καὶ ἔθνη καὶ δήμους, καθάπερ ὁ Τριπτόλεμος ἀποσπείρων τι εἰς τὴν  
γῆν. οὐκέτι μέντοι μέμνημαι ὅ τι τὸ σπειρόμενον ἐκείνο ἦν, πλην  
τοῦτο μόνον ὅτι κάτωθεν ἀφορῶντες ἄνθρωποι ἐπήνουν καὶ μετ'  
εὐφημίας καθ' οὓς γενοίμην τῇι πτήσει παρέπεμπον. δείξασα δέ μοι  
**16** τὰ τοσαῦτα κάμει τοῖς ἔπαινοῦσιν ἐκείνοις ἐπανήγαγεν αὐθις, οὐκέτι  
τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐκείνην ἐνδεδυκότα ἦν εἶχον ἀφιπτάμενος, ἀλλ'  
ἐμοὶ ἐδόκουν εὐπάρυφός τις ἐπανήκειν. καταλαβοῦσα οὖν καὶ τὸν  
πατέρα ἐστῶτα καὶ περιμένοντα ἐδείκνυν αὐτῷ ἐκείνην τὴν ἐσθῆτα  
κάμει, οἷος ἦκοιμι, καὶ τι καὶ ὑπέμνησεν οἷα μικροῦ δεῖν περὶ ἐμοῦ  
ἐβουλεύσαντο.

**25** Ταῦτα μέμνημαι ἰδὼν ἀντίπαις ἔτι ὦν, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐκταραχθεῖς  
πρὸς τὸν τῶν πληγῶν φόβον.

Μεταξὺ δὲ λέγοντος, Ἡράκλεις, ἔφη τις, ὡς μακρὸν τὸ ἐνύπνιον καὶ  
δικανικόν.

Εἴτ' ἄλλος ὑπέκρουσε, Χειμερινὸς ὄνειρος, ὅτε μήκισταί εἰσιν  
**30** αἱ νύκτες, ἡ τάχα που τριέσπερος ὥσπερ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς καὶ αὐτὸς  
ἐστι. τί δ' οὖν ἐπῆλθεν αὐτῷ ληρῆσαι ταῦτα πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ  
μνησθῆναι παιδικῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ὁνείρων παλαιῶν καὶ γεγηρακότων;  
ἔωλος γὰρ ἡ ψυχρολογία. μὴ ὁνείρων τινὰς ὑποκριτὰς ἡμᾶς  
ὑπέιληφεν;

**35** Οὐκ, ὦγαθέ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ποτε διηγούμενος τὸ ἐνύπνιον,  
ὡς ἐδόκει αὐτῷ καίεσθαι ἡ πατρώια οἰκία καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἴστε γάρ –  
οὐχ ὑπόκρισιν τὴν ὄψιν οὐδ' ὡς φλυαρεῖν ἐγνωκῶς αὐτὰ διεξήκει,

καὶ ταῦτα ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἀπογνώσει πραγμάτων, περιστώτων πολέμων, ἀλλὰ τι καὶ χρήσιμον εἶχεν ἢ διήγησις.

- 18 Καὶ τοίνυν καὶ γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν ὄνειρον ὑμῖν διηγησάμην ἐκείνου ἕνεκα, ὅπως οἱ νέοι πρὸς τὰ βελτίω τρέπωνται καὶ παιδείας ἔχωνται, καὶ μάλιστα εἴ τις αὐτῶν ὑπὸ πενίας ἐθελοκακεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὴν 5 ἡττῶ ἀποκλίνει, φύσιν οὐκ ἀγεννῆ διαφθείρων. ἐπιρρωσθήσεται εὖ οἷδ' ὅτι κακεῖνος ἀκούσας τοῦ μύθου, ἱκανὸν ἑαυτῷ παράδειγμα ἐμὲ προστησάμενος, ἐννοῶν οἷος μὲν ὢν πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα ὥρμησα καὶ παιδείας ἐπεθύμησα, μηδὲν ἀποδειλιάσας πρὸς τὴν πενίαν τὴν τότε, οἷος δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπανελήλυθα, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο, οὐδενὸς γοῦν τῶν 10 λιθογλύφων ἀδοξότερος.

5 τὴν M: τὰ Bekker

## II

### ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΕΙΠΟΝΤΑ, ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ ΕΙ ΕΝ ΛΟΓΟΙΣ

- Οὐκοῦν Προμηθέα με εἶναι φῆις; εἰ μὲν κατὰ τοῦτο, ὦ ἄριστε, ὡς 1 πηλίνων κάμοι τῶν ἔργων ὄντων, γνωρίζω τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ φημι ὁμοιος εἶναι αὐτῷ, οὐδ' ἀναίνομαι πηλοπλάθος ἀκούειν, εἰ καὶ φαυλότερος ἐμοὶ ὁ πηλὸς οἷος ἐκ τριόδου, βόρβορος τις παρὰ μικρόν. 5 εἰ δὲ ὑπερεπαινῶν τοὺς λόγους ὡς δῆθεν εὐμηχάνους ὄντας τὸν σοφώτατον τῶν Τιτάνων ἐπιφημίζεις αὐτοῖς, ὅρα μή τις εἰρωνεῖαν φῆι καὶ μυκτῆρα οἶον τὸν Ἀττικὸν προσεῖναι τῷ ἐπαίνῳ. ἡ πόθεν γὰρ εὐμήχανον τοῦμόν; τίς δὲ ἡ περιττὴ σοφία καὶ προμήθεια ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν; ὡς ἐμοιγε ἱκανὸν εἰ μὴ πάνυ σοὶ γῆϊνα ἔδοξεν μηδὲ 10 κομιδῇ ἄξια τοῦ Καυκάσου. καίτοι πόσω δικαιότερον ὑμεῖς ἂν εἰκάζοισθε τῷ Προμηθεῖ, ὅποσοι ἐν δίκαις εὐδοκιμεῖτε ζῦν ἀληθεῖαι ποιοῦμενοι τοὺς ἀγῶνας; ζῶα γοῦν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ἔμψυχα ὑμῖν τὰ ἔργα, καὶ νῆ Δία καὶ τὸ θερμόν αὐτῶν ἐστὶ διάπυρον· καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τοῦ Προμηθέως ἂν εἴη, πλήν εἰ μὴ ἐν διαλλάττοιτε, ὅτι μηδὲν ἐκ 15 πηλοῦ πλάττετε ἀλλὰ χρυσᾶ ὑμῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς τὰ πλάσματα. Ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἐς τὰ πλήθη παριόντες καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας τῶν 2 ἀκροάσεων ἐπαγγέλλοντες εἰδῶλα ἅττα ἐπιδεικνύμεθα, καὶ τὸ μὲν ὅλον ἐν πηλῷ, καθάπερ ἔφην μικρόν ἐμπροσθεν, ἡ πλαστικὴ κατὰ ταῦτα τοῖς κοροπλάθοις· τὰ δ' ἄλλα οὔτε κίνησις ὁμοία πρόσσεστιν 20 οὔτε ψυχῆς δεῖγμά τι, ἀλλὰ τέρψις ἄλλως καὶ παιδιὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα. ὥστε μοι ἐνθυμεῖσθαι ἔπεισι μὴ ἄρα οὕτω με Προμηθέα λέγοις εἶναι ὡς ὁ κωμικὸς τὸν Κλέωνα· φησὶν δέ, οἶσθα, περὶ αὐτοῦ·

Κλέων Προμηθεὺς ἐστὶ μετὰ τὰ πράγματα.

- καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς χυτρέας καὶ ἱπνοποιούς καὶ πάντας ὅσοι 25 πηλουργοὶ Προμηθέας ἀπεκάλουν ἐπισκώπτοντες ἐς τὸν πηλὸν ἢ καὶ τὴν ἐν πυρὶ οἶμαι τῶν σκευῶν ὀπτησιν. καὶ εἴ γε σοὶ τοῦτο βούλεται εἶναι ὁ Προμηθεὺς, πάνυ εὐστόχως ἀποτετόξευται καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν δριμύτητα τῶν σκωμμάτων, ἐπεὶ καὶ εὐθρυπτα ἡμῖν τὰ ἔργα ὥσπερ ἐκείνοις τὰ χυτρίδια, καὶ μικρόν τις λίθον ἐμβαλὼν 30 συντρίψει ἅπαντα.

14 μὴ ἐν Macleod: μὲν m: μὴ m: μὴ ἐν Fritzsche    μηδὲν ἐκ Macleod: μηδ' ἐκ m: ἐκ m:  
μὴ ἐκ Hemsterhuis: μηδὲν Struve    22 Κλέωνα· φησὶν δὲ Dindorf: κλέωνα φησιν· M

3 Καίτοι, φαίη τις παραμυθούμενος, οὐ ταῦτα εἶκασέ σε τῷ Προμηθεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὸ καινουργὸν τοῦτο ἐπαινῶν καὶ μὴ πρὸς τι ἄλλο ἀρχέτυπον μεμιμημένον, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος, οὐκ ὄντων ἀνθρώπων τέως, ἐννοήσας αὐτοὺς ἀνέπλασεν, τοιαῦτα τὰ ζῶια μορφώσας καὶ διακοσμήσας ὡς εὐκίνητά τε εἶη καὶ ὀφθῆναι χαρίεντα. καὶ τὸ μὲν 5 ὄλον ἀρχιτέκτων αὐτὸς ἦν, ξυνειργάζετο δέ τι καὶ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐμπνέουσα τὸν πηλὸν καὶ ἔμψυχα ποιοῦσα εἶναι τὰ πλάσματα. ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἂν εἴποι, πρὸς γε τὸ εὐφημότατον ἐξηγούμενος τὸ εἰρημένον, καὶ ἴσως οὗτος ὁ νοῦς ἦν τῷ λελεγμένῳ. ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐ πάνυ ἱκανόν, εἰ καινοποιεῖν δοκοῖν, μηδὲ ἔχοι τις λέγειν ἀρχαιότερόν τι τοῦ 10 πλάσματος οὗ τοῦτο ἀπόγονόν ἐστιν. ἀλλὰ εἰ μὴ χάριεν φαίνοιτο, αἰσχυνοίμην ἂν, εὖ ἴσθι, ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ ξυμπατήσας ἂν ἀφανίσαιμι. οὐδ' ἂν ὠφελήσειεν αὐτό, παρὰ γοῦν ἐμοί, ἡ καινότης, μὴ οὐχὶ συντετρίφθαι ἄμορφον ὄν. καὶ εἴ γε μὴ οὕτω φρονοῖν, ἄξιός ἂν εἶναι μοι δοκῶ ὑπὸ ἐκκαίδεκα γυπῶν κείρεσθαι, οὐ συνιείς ὡς πολὺ ἄμορ- 15 φότερα τὰ μετὰ τοῦ ξένου αὐτὸ πεπονθότα.

4 Πτολεμαῖος γοῦν ὁ Λάγου δύο καινὰ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἄγων, κάμηλόν τε Βακτριανὴν παμμέλαιναν καὶ δίχρωμον ἄνθρωπον, ὡς τὸ μὲν ἡμίτομον αὐτοῦ ἀκριβῶς μέλαν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἐς ὑπερβολὴν λευκόν, ἐπ' ἴσης δὲ μεμερισμένον, ἐς τὸ θέατρον συναγαγὼν τοὺς Αἰγυπ- 20 τίους ἐπεδείκνυτο αὐτοῖς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ θεάματα καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ ταῦτα, τὴν κάμηλον καὶ τὸν ἡμίλευκον ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ὦιετο ἐκπλήξειν τῷ θεάματι. οἱ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὴν κάμηλον ἐφοβήθησαν καὶ ὀλίγου διέφυγον ἀναθορόντες, καίτοι χρυσῷ πᾶσα ἐκεκόσμητο καὶ ἀλουργίδι ἐπέστρωτο καὶ ὁ χαλινὸς ἦν λιθοκόλλητος, Δαρείου 25 τινὸς ἢ Καμβύσου ἢ Κύρου αὐτοῦ κειμήλιον. πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἐγέλων, οἱ δὲ τινες ὡς ἐπὶ τέρατι ἐμυσάττοντο. ὥστε ὁ Πτολεμαῖος συνιείς ὅτι οὐκ εὐδοκιμεῖ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ θαυμάζεται ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἡ καινότης, ἀλλὰ πρὸ αὐτῆς τὸ εὐρυθμον καὶ τὸ εὐμόρφον κρίνουσι, μετέστησεν αὐτὰ καὶ οὐκέτι διὰ τιμῆς ἦγεν ὡς 30 πρὸ τοῦ. ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν κάμηλος ἀπέθανεν ἀμελουμένη, τὸν ἄνθρωπον δὲ τὸν διττὸν Θέσπιδι τῷ αὐλητῇ ἐδωρήσατο καλῶς αὐλήσαντι παρὰ τὸν πότον.

5 Δέδοικα δὲ μὴ καὶ τοῦμὸν κάμηλος ἐν Αἰγυπτίοις ἦι, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι τὸν χαλινὸν ἔτι αὐτῆς θαυμάζουσι καὶ τὴν ἀλουργίδα, 35 ἐπειδὴ οὐδὲ τὸ ἐκ δυοῖν τοῖν καλλίστοις ξυγχεῖσθαι, διαλόγου καὶ

κωμωιδίας, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀπόχρη εἰς εὐμορφίαν, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἡ μίξις ἐναρμόνιος καὶ κατὰ τὸ σύμμετρον γίγνοιτο. ἔστι γοῦν ἐκ δύο καλῶν ἀλλόκοτον τὴν ξυνθήκην εἶναι, οἷον ἐκεῖνο τὸ προχειρότα- 5 τον, ὁ ἵπποκένταυρος· οὐ γὰρ ἂν φαίης ἐπέραστον τι ζῶιον τουτὶ γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕβριστότατον, εἰ χρὴ πιστεῦειν τοῖς ζωγράφ- 10 οῖς ἐπιδεικνυμένοις τὰς παροιτίας καὶ σφαγὰς αὐτῶν. τί οὖν; οὐχὶ καὶ ἐμπαλιν γένοιτ' ἂν εὐμόρφον τι ἐκ δυοῖν τοῖν ἀρίστοις ξυντεθέν, ὥσπερ ἐξ οἴνου καὶ μέλιτος τὸ ξυναμφότερον ἡδιστον; φημί ἔγωγε. οὐ μὴν περὶ γε τῶν ἐμῶν ἔχω διατείνεσθαι ὡς τοιούτων ὄντων, ἀλλὰ 10 δέδια μὴ τὸ ἐκατέρου κάλλος ἢ μίξις συνέφθειρεν.

Οὐ πάνυ γοῦν συνήθη καὶ φίλα ἐς ἀρχῆς ἦν ὁ διάλογος καὶ ἡ 6 κωμωιδία, εἴ γε ὁ μὲν οἴκοι καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἰδίαι ἢ ἐν τοῖς περιπά- τοις μετ' ὀλίγων τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιεῖτο, ἡ δὲ παραδοῦσα τῷ Διονύσῳ ἑαυτὴν θεάτρῳ ὠμίλει καὶ ξυνέπαιζεν καὶ ἐγελωτοποιεῖ 15 καὶ ἐπέσκωπτε καὶ ἐν ῥυθμῷ ἔβαινε πρὸς αὐλὸν ἐνίοτε καὶ τὸ ὄλον ἀναπαίστοις μέτροις ἐποχουμένη· τὰ πολλὰ δὲ τοὺς τοῦ διαλόγου ἐταίρους ἐχλεύαζε φροντιστὰς καὶ μετεωρολόσχας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα 20 προσαγορεύουσα. καὶ μίαν ταύτην προαίρεσιν ἐπεποίητο ἐκείνους ἐπισκώπτειν καὶ τὴν Διονυσιακὴν ἐλευθερίαν καταχεῖν αὐτῶν, ἄρτι μὲν ἀεροβατοῦντας δεικνύουσα καὶ νεφέλαις ξυνόντας, ἄρτι δὲ ψυλ- 25 λῶν πηδημάτα διαμετροῦντας, ὡς δῆθεν τὰ ἀέρια λεπτολογουμέ- νους. ὁ διάλογος δὲ σεμνοτάτας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς συνουσίας φύσεώς τε πέρη καὶ ἀρετῆς φιλοσοφῶν. ὥστε, τὸ τῶν μουσικῶν τοῦτο, δις διὰ πασῶν εἶναι τὴν ἀρμονίαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀξυτάτου ἐς τὸ βαρύτατον. καὶ 30 ὅμως ἐτολμήσαμεν ἡμεῖς τὰ οὕτως ἔχοντα πρὸς ἄλληλα ξυναγαγεῖν καὶ ξυναρμόσαι οὐ πάνυ πειθόμενα οὐδὲ εὐμαρῶς ἀνεχόμενα τὴν κοινωνίαν.

Δέδια τοίνυν μὴ αὐθις ὁμοίον τι τῷ Προμηθεῖ τῷ σῶι πεποιηκῶς 7 φαίνομαι τὸ θῆλυ τῷ ἄρρενι ἐγκαταμίξας καὶ δι' αὐτὸ δίκην ὑπόσχω, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ < > ἐξαπατῶν ἴσως τοὺς ἀκούοντας καὶ ὁστ' 10 παραθεῖς αὐτοῖς κεκαλυμμένα τῇ πιμελῇ, γέλωτα κωμικὸν ὑπὸ σεμνότητι φιλοσόφῳ, τὸ γὰρ τῆς κλεπτικῆς — καὶ γὰρ κλεπτικῆς ὁ θεός — ἄπαγε. τοῦτο μόνον οὐκ ἂν εἴποις ἐνεῖναι τοῖς ἡμετέροις. ἡ παρὰ τοῦ γὰρ ἂν ἐκλέπτομεν; εἰ μὴ ἄρα τις ἐμὲ διέλαθεν τοιού- 15 τους ἵπποκάμπους καὶ τραγελάφους καὶ αὐτὸς συντεθεικῶς. πλὴν ἀλλὰ τί ἂν ἀθόιμι; ἐμμενετέον γὰρ οἷς ἅπαξ προειλόμην· ἐπεὶ τό γε μεταβουλεύεσθαι Ἐπιμηθέως ἔργον, οὐ Προμηθέως ἐστίν.

1 εἶκασέ σε Hemsterhuis: εἶκασαι M 4 τὰ add. Handley (per litt.): om. M 8 γε Hemsterhuis: τε M 11 χάριεν m: χάριέν τι m: χαρίεντα m 13 γοῦν ed. Iuntina: γὰρ M 14 εἶναι add. Schaefer 16 αὐτὸ πεπονθότα Marcilius: αὐτὰ πεπονθότα m: αὐτὰ πεποιθότα m: ταῦτ' πεπονθότα Brodaeus: fort. delenda esse censet Macleod 17 γοῦν Seager: οὖν M 30 τὸν ἄνθρωπον post καὶ M: del. Lehmann

12 ἰδίαι ἢ Bekker: νῆ δία M 16 τὰ πολλὰ δὲ Bekker: ἐποχουμένη τὰ πολλὰ τοὺς distinctii M 30 κατ' ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτος φανείην suppl. m: inter καὶ εἰ ἐξαπατῶν spatium x litterarum m 32 3 κλέπτῃς ὁ θεός Bekker

### III ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΒΙΒΛΙΑ ΩΝΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ

- 1 Καὶ μὴν ἐναντίον ἐστὶν οὗ ἐθέλεις ὁ νῦν ποιεῖς. οἷοι μὲν γὰρ ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶναι τις δόξειν σπουδῇ συνωνούμενος τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν βιβλίων· τὸ δέ σοι περὶ τὰ κάτω χωρεῖ, καὶ ἔλεγχος γίνεται τῆς ἀπαιδευσίας πῶς τοῦτο. μάλιστα δὲ οὐδὲ τὰ κάλλιστα ὦνῃ, ἀλλὰ πιστεύεις τοῖς ὡς ἔτυχεν ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ἔρμαιον εἶ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιψευδομένων τοῖς βιβλίοις καὶ θησαυρὸς ἔτοιμος τοῖς καπηλίοις αὐτῶν. ἢ πόθεν γὰρ σοι διαγινώσκειν δυνατόν, τίνα μὲν παλαιὰ καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξια, τίνα δὲ φαῦλα καὶ ἄλλως σαπρὰ, εἰ μὴ τῷ διαβεβρωσθαι καὶ κατακεκόφθαι αὐτὰ τεκμαίροιο καὶ συμβούλους τοὺς σέας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν παραλαμβάνοις; ἐπεὶ τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς ἡ ἀσφαλοῦς ἐν αὐτοῖς τίς ἢ ποία διάγνωσις;
- 2 Ἵνα δέ σοι δῶ αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα κεκριμένα, ὅσα ὁ Καλλίνος εἰς κάλλος ἢ ὁ ὀϊδίμος Ἀττικὸς σὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ τῇ πάσῃ γράψαιεν, σοὶ τί ὄφελος, ὦ θαυμάσιε, τοῦ κτήματος οὔτε εἰδότες τὸ κάλλος αὐτῶν οὔτε χρησιμῶν ποτὲ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ τυφλὸς ἂν τις ἀπολαύσειε κάλλους παιδικῶν; σὺ δὲ ἀνεωιγμένοις μὲν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρᾷς τὰ βιβλία, καὶ νῆ Δία κατακόρως, καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκεις ἕνα πάνυ ἐπιτρέχων, φθάνοντος τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ τὸ στόμα· οὐδέπω δὲ τοῦτό μοι ἱκανόν, ἦν μὴ εἰδῇς τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν ἐκάστου τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων καὶ συνίης ὅστις μὲν ὁ νοῦς σύμπασιν, τίς δὲ ἡ τάξις τῶν ὀνομάτων, ὅσα τε πρὸς τὸν ὀρθὸν κανόνα τῷ συγγραφῇ ἀπηκρίβωται καὶ ὅσα κίβδηλα καὶ νόθα καὶ παρακεκομμένα.
- 3 Τί οὖν; φῆις, καὶ ταῦτά μὴ μαθὼν ἡμῖν, εἰδέναι; πόθεν, εἰ μὴ ποτε παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν κλῶνα δάφνης καθάπερ ὁ ποιμὴν ἐκεῖνος λαβὼν; Ἐλικῶνα μὲν γάρ, ἵνα διατρίβειν αἱ θεαὶ λέγονται, οὐδὲ ἀκήκοας οἶμαί ποτε, οὐδὲ τὰς αὐτὰς διατριβὰς ἡμῖν ἐν παισὶν ἐποιεῖ· σοὶ καὶ μεμνησθαι Μουσῶν ἀνόσιον. ἐκεῖναι γὰρ ποιμένι μὲν οὐκ ἂν ὥκνησαν φανῆναι σκληρῶι ἀνδρὶ καὶ δασεῖ καὶ πολὺν τὸν ἥλιον ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι ἐμφαίνοντι, οἶω δὲ σοί – καὶ μοι πρὸς τῆς Λιβανίτιδος ἄφες ἐν τῷ παρόντι τὸ μὴ σύμπαντα σαφῶς εἰπεῖν· οὐδὲ ἐγγὺς γενέσθαι ποτ' ἂν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι ἡξίωσαν, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τῆς δάφνης μυρρίνη ἂν ἢ καὶ μαλάχης φύλλοις μαστιγοῦσαι ἀπήλλαξαν ἂν

10 παραλαμβάνοις Guyet: -εις M 23 ταῦτά Naber: ταῦτα M 26 τὰς αὐτὰς Marcilius: τοιαύτας M 32 μυρρίκη Guyet

τῶν τοιούτων, ὡς μὴ μιᾶναι μήτε τὸν Ὀλμειὸν μήτε τὴν τοῦ Ἴππου κρήνην, ἅπερ ἢ ποιμνίοις διψῶσιν ἢ ποιμένων στόμασιν καθαροῖς πότιμα.

- Καίτοι οὐδέ, εἰ πάνυ ἀναίσχυντος εἶ καὶ ἀνδρεῖος τὰ τοιαῦτα, 5 τολμήσεις ἂν ποτε εἰπεῖν ὡς ἐπαιδεύθης ἢ ἐμέλησέ σοι πώποτε τῆς ἐν χρῶι πρὸς τὰ βιβλία συνουσίας ἢ ὡς διδάσκαλός σοι ὁ δεῖνα ἢ τῷ δεῖνι συνεφοίτας. ἀλλ' ἐνὶ τούτῳ μόνῳ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἀναδραμεῖσθαι 4 νῦν ἐλπίζεις, τῷ κτᾶσθαι πολλὰ βιβλία. κατὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ἐκεῖνα ἔχε συλλαβὼν τὰ τοῦ Δημοσθένους ὅσα τῇ χειρὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ ὁ ῥήτωρ 10 ἔγραψε, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θουκυδίδου ὅσα παρὰ τοῦ Δημοσθένους καὶ αὐτὰ ὀκτάκις μεταγεγραμμένα εὗρέθη, καὶ ὅλως ἅπαντα ἐκεῖνα ὅσα ὁ Σύλλας Ἀθήνηθεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐξέπεμψε· τί ἂν πλέον ἐκ τούτου εἰς παιδείαν κτήσαιο, κἂν ὑποβαλόμενος αὐτὰ ἐπικαθεύδης ἢ συγκολήσας καὶ περιβαλόμενος περινοστήῃς; πίθηκος γὰρ ὁ πίθηκος, ἢ 15 παροιμία φησί, κἂν χρύσεια ἔχη σύμβολα. καὶ σὺ τοίνυν βιβλίον μὲν ἔχεις ἐν τῇ χειρὶ καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκεις αἰεὶ, τῶν δὲ ἀναγιγνωσκομένων οἶσθα οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ὄνος λύρας ἀκούεις κινῶν τὰ ὦτα.

- Ὡς εἶ γε τὸ κεκτῆσθαι τὰ βιβλία καὶ πεπαιδευμένον ἀπέφαινε τὸν ἔχοντα, πολλοῦ ἂν ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ κτῆμα ἦν ἄξιον καὶ μόνων 20 ὡμῶν τῶν πλουσίων, εἰ ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἦν πρίασθαι τοὺς πένητας ἡμᾶς ὑπερβάλλοντας. τίς δὲ τοῖς ἐμπόροις καὶ τοῖς βιβλιοκαπηλίοις ἤρισεν ἂν περὶ παιδείας τοσαῦτα βιβλία ἔχουσι καὶ πωλοῦσιν; ἀλλ' εἶ γε διελέγχειν ἐθέλεις, ὅψαι μὴδ' ἐκείνους πολὺ σου τὰ εἰς παιδείαν ἀμείνους, ἀλλὰ βαρβάρους μὲν τὴν φωνὴν ὥσπερ σὺ, ἀξυνέτους δὲ 25 τῇ γνώσει, οἷους εἰκὸς εἶναι τοὺς μὴδὲν τῶν καλῶν καὶ αἰσχυρῶν καθεωρακότας. καίτοι σὺ μὲν δύο ἢ τρία παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων πριάμενος ἔχεις, οἱ δὲ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν διὰ χειρὸς ἔχουσιν αὐτά. 5 τίνος οὖν ἀγαθοῦ ὦνῃ ταῦτα, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰς ἀποθήκας αὐτὰς τῶν βιβλίων ἡγῇ πεπαιδεῦσθαι τοσαῦτα περιεχούσας παλαιῶν 30 ἀνδρῶν συγγράμματα;

- Καὶ μοι, εἰ δοκεῖ, ἀπόκριναι· μᾶλλον δέ, ἐπεὶ τοῦτό σοι ἀδύνατον, ἐπίνευσον γοῦν ἢ ἀνάνευσον πρὸς τὰ ἐρωτώμενα. εἴ τις αὐλεῖν μὴ ἐπιστάμενος κτήσαιο τοὺς Τιμοθέου αὐλοῦς ἢ τοὺς Ἰσμηνίου, οὓς ἐπὶ τὰ ταλάντων ὁ Ἰσμηνίας ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἐπρίατο, ἄρ' ἂν διὰ τοῦτο 35 καὶ αὐλεῖν δύναιτο, ἢ οὐδὲν ὄφελος αὐτῷ τοῦ κτήματος οὐκ ἐπισταμένῳ χρήσασθαι κατὰ τὴν τέχνην; εὖ γε ἀνένευσας· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς Μαρσύου ἢ Ὀλύμπου κτησάμενος αὐλήσειεν ἂν μὴ μαθὼν. τί δ' εἴ τις

3 (κατὰ δὲ) ταῦτα] τὰ αὐτὰ Macleod 11 καὶ ὅλως Harmon: καλῶς M: καλῶς καὶ Bekker

τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὰ τόξα κτήσαιοτο μὴ Φιλοκτῆτης ὦν ὡς δύνασθαι ἐντεínaσθαι τε αὐτὰ καὶ ἐπίσκοπα τοξεῦσαι; τί σοι καὶ οὗτος δοκεῖ; ἄρ' ἂν ἐπιδείξασθαι τι ἔργον τοξότου ἄξιον; ἀνένευσας καὶ τοῦτο. κατὰ ταῦτά δὴ καὶ ὁ κυβερναῖν οὐκ εἰδὼς καὶ ἵππεύειν μὴ μεμελετηκὼς εἰ ὁ μὲν ναῦν καλλίστην παραλάβοι, τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ εἰς κάλλος καὶ εἰς 5 ἀσφάλειαν κάλλιστα ἐξεργασμένην, ὁ δὲ ἵππον κτήσαιοτο Μῆδον ἢ κενταυρίδην ἢ κοππαφόρον, ἐλέγχοιτο ἂν, οἶμαι, ἐκότερος οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅ τι χρήσαιοτο ἐκατέρωι. ἐπινεύεις καὶ τοῦτο; πείθου δὴ καὶ τοῦτό μοι ἐπινέουσιν· εἴ τις ὥσπερ σὺ ἀπαιδευτος ὦν ὠνοῖτο πολλὰ βιβλία, οὐ σκώμματα οὗτος εἰς ἀπαιδευσίαν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐκφέρει; 10 ὁκνεῖς καὶ τοῦτο ἐπινεύειν; ἔλεγχος γάρ, οἶμαι, σαφὴς οὗτος, καὶ τῶν ὁρώντων ἕκαστος εὐθύς τὸ προχειρότατον ἐκείνῳ ἐπιφθέγγεται, Τί κυνὶ καὶ βαλανείωι;

6 Καὶ ἐγένετό τις οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐν Ἀσίαι πλούσιος ἀνὴρ ἐκ συμφορᾶς ἀποτμηθεὶς τοὺς πόδας ἀμφοτέρους, ἀπὸ κρύους, οἶμαι, 15 ἀποσαπέντας ἐπειδὴ ποτε διὰ χιόνος ὁδοιπορῆσαι συνέβη αὐτῷ. οὗτος τοίνυν τοῦτο μὲν ἔλεεινὸν ἐπεπόνθει, καὶ θεραπεύων τὴν δυστυχίαν ξυλίνους πόδας πεποίητο, καὶ τούτους ὑποδούμενος ἐβλάδιζεν ἐπιστηριζόμενος ἅμα τοῖς οἰκέταις. ἐκείνο δὲ γελοῖον ἐποίει, κρηπιδας γὰρ καλλίστας ἐωνεῖτο νεοτμήτους αἰεῖ, καὶ τὴν 20 πλείστην πραγματείαν περὶ ταύτας εἶχεν, ὡς καλλίστοις ὑποδήμασιν κεκοσμημένα εἶη αὐτῷ τὰ ξύλα. οὐ ταῦτά οὖν καὶ σὺ ποιεῖς χωλὴν μὲν ἔχων καὶ συκίνην τὴν γνώμην, ὠνούμενος δὲ χρυσοῦς ἐμβάτας, οἷς μόλις ἂν τις καὶ ἀρτίπους ἐμπεριπατήσειν;

7 Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τὸν Ὀμηρον ἐπρίω πολλάκις, ἀναγ- 25 νώτω σοὶ τις αὐτοῦ λαβὼν τὴν δευτέραν τῆς Ἰλιάδος ῥαψωιδίαν, ἧς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μὴ ἐξετάζειν· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν πρὸς σέ· πεποίηται δὲ τις αὐτῷ δημηγορῶν παγγέλοιος ἀνθρώπος, διάστροφος τὸ σῶμα καὶ λελωβημένος. ἐκείνος τοίνυν ὁ Θεραπίτης ὁ τοιοῦτος εἰ λάβοι τὴν Ἀχιλλέως πανοπλίαν, οἶει ὅτι αὐτίκα διὰ τοῦτο καὶ καλὸς 30 ἅμα καὶ ἰσχυρὸς ἂν γένοιτο, καὶ ὑπερπηδήσεται μὲν τὸν ποταμόν, ἐπιθολώσει δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ ρεῖθρον τῷ φόνωι τῶν Φρυγῶν, ἀποκτενεῖ δὲ τὸν Ἔκτορα καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τὸν Λυκάονα καὶ τὸν Ἀστεροπαῖον, μὴδὲ φέρειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τὴν μελίαν δυνάμενος; οὐκ ἂν εἴποις· ἀλλὰ καὶ γέλωτα ἂν ὀφλισκάνοι χωλεύων ὑπὸ τῇ ἀσπίδι καὶ ἐπὶ στόμα 35 καταπίπτων ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ κράνει ὁπότε ἀνανεύσειε δεικνὺς τοὺς παραβλῶπας ἐκείνους αὐτοῦ ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὸν

4 ταῦτά Du Soul: ταῦτα M  
m 13 κυνὶ κοινὸν καὶ m

7 κοππαφόρον Du Soul: κοππο- m: κοττο- m: κοππο-

θώρακα ἐπαίρων τῷ τοῦ μεταφρένου κυρτώματι καὶ τὰς κνημίδας ἐπισυρόμενος, καὶ ὅλως αἰσχύνων ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ τὸν δημιουργὸν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν δεσπότην. τὸ αὐτὸ δὴ καὶ σὺ πάσχων οὐχ ὁραῖς, ὁπότε τὸ μὲν βιβλίον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔχῃς πάγκαλον, πορφυρᾶν μὲν 5 ἔχων τὴν διφθέραν, χρυσοῦν δὲ τὸν ὀμφαλόν, ἀναγινώσκῃς δὲ αὐτὸ βαρβαρίζων καὶ καταισχύνων καὶ διαστρέφων, ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πεπαιδευμένων καταγελῶμενος, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν συνόντων σοι κολάκων ἐπαινούμενος, οἱ καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπιστρεφόμενοι γελῶσι τὰ πολλά;

10 Θέλω γοῦν σοι διηγῆσασθαι τι Πυθοῖ γενόμενον. Ταραντῖνος 8 Εὐάγγελος τοῦνομα τῶν οὐκ ἀφανῶν ἐν τῷ Τάραντι ἐπεθύμησεν νικῆσαι Πύθια. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς γυμνῆς ἀγωνίας αὐτίκα ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἀδύνατον εἶναι μήτε πρὸς ἰσχὺν μήτε πρὸς ὠκύτητα εὖ πεφυκότι, κιθάραι δὲ καὶ ὠιδῇ ραϊδίως κρατήσιν ἐπείσθη ὑπὸ καταράτων 15 ἀνθρώπων οὓς εἶχε περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπαινούντων καὶ βοώντων ὁπότε καὶ τὸ μικρότατον ἐκείνους ἀνακρούσαιτο. ἦκεν οὖν εἰς τοὺς Δελφοὺς τοῖς τε ἄλλοις λαμπρὸς καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐσθῆτα χρυσόπαστον ποιη- σάμενος καὶ στέφανον δάφνης χρυσοῦς κάλλιστον, ὡς ἀντὶ καρποῦ τῆς δάφνης σμαράγδους εἶναι, ἰσομεγέθεις τῷ καρπῷ· τὴν μὲν γε 20 κιθάραν αὐτὴν, ὑπερφυῖς τι χρῆμα εἰς κάλλος καὶ πολυτέλειαν, χρυσοῦ μὲν τοῦ ἀκηράτου πᾶσαν, σφραγῖσι δὲ καὶ λίθοις ποικίλοις κατακεκοσμημένην, Μουσῶν μεταξὺ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ὀρφέως ἐντετορευμένων, θαῦμα μέγα τοῖς ὁρώσιν.

Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ποτε καὶ ἦκεν ἡ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἡμέρα, τρεῖς μὲν ἦσαν, 9 25 ἔλαχεν δὲ μέσος αὐτῶν ὁ Εὐάγγελος αἰδεῖν· καὶ μετὰ Θεσπιν τὸν Θηβαῖον οὐ φάυλως ἀγωνισάμενον εἰσέρχεται ὅλος περιλαμπόμενος τῷ χρυσῷ καὶ τοῖς σμαράγδοις καὶ βηρύλλοις καὶ ὑακίνθοις· καὶ ἡ πορφύρα δὲ ἐνέπρεπε τῆς ἐσθῆτος, ἡ μεταξὺ τοῦ χρυσοῦ διεφαίνετο. τούτοις ἅπανσι προεκπλήξας τὸ θέατρον καὶ θαυμαστῆς ἐλπίδος 30 ἐμπλήσας τοὺς θεατὰς, ἐπειδὴ ποτε καὶ αἰσαι καὶ κιθαρίσαι πάντως ἔδει, ἀνακρούεται μὲν ἀνάρμοστόν τι καὶ ἀσύντακτον, ἀπορρήγνυσι δὲ τρεῖς ἅμα χορδὰς σφοδρότερον τοῦ δέοντος ἐμπεσὼν τῇ κιθάραι, αἰδεῖν δὲ ἄρχεται ἀπόμουσόν τι καὶ λεπτόν, ὥστε γέλωτα μὲν παρὰ πάντων γενέσθαι τῶν θεατῶν, τοὺς ἀθλοθέτας δὲ ἀγανακτήσαντας 35 ἐπὶ τῇ τόλμῃ μαστιγώσαντας αὐτὸν ἐκβαλεῖν τοῦ θεάτρου· ὅτε περ καὶ γελοιότατος ὦφθη δακρύων ὁ χρυσοῦς Εὐάγγελος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν μαστιγοφόρων συρόμενος διὰ μέσης τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ τὰ σκέλη καθη- ματωμένος ἐκ τῶν μαστίγων καὶ συλλέγων χαμόθεν τῆς κιθάρας τὰς σφραγίδας· ἐξεπεπτώκεσαν γὰρ κἀκείνης συμμαστιγούμενης 40 αὐτῷ.

**10** Μικρὸν δὲ ἐπισχὼν μετ' αὐτὸν Εὐμηλὸς τις Ἠλεῖος εἰσέρχεται, κιθάραν μὲν παλαιὰν ἔχων, ξυλίνους δὲ κόλλοπας ἐπικειμένην, ἐσθῆτα δὲ μόγις σὺν τῷ στεφάνῳ δέκα δραχμῶν ἄξιαν· ἀλλ' οὗτός γε ἄσισ δεξιῶς καὶ κιθαρίσας κατὰ τὸν νόμον τῆς τέχνης ἑκράτει καὶ ἀνεκρηρύττετο καὶ τοῦ Εὐαγγέλου κατεγέλα μάτην ἐμπομ-  
**5** πεύσαντος τῇ κιθάρῃ καὶ ταῖς σφραγίσιν ἐκείναις. καὶ εἰπεῖν γε λέγεται πρὸς αὐτόν· ὦ Εὐάγγελε, σὺ μὲν χρυσῇν δάφνην περί- κεισαι, πλουτεῖς γάρ, ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ πένης τὴν Δελφικὴν. πλήν τοῦτό γε μόνον ὦνῃσο τῆς σκευῆς, ὅτι μὴδὲ ἐλεούμενος ἐπὶ τῇ ἥττηι ἀπέρχηι, ἀλλὰ μισούμενος προσέτι διὰ τὴν ἀτεχνόν σου ταύτην **10** τρυφήν.

**11** Περί πόδα δὴ σοὶ καὶ Εὐάγγελος οὗτος, παρ' ὅσον σοὶ γε οὐδ' ὀλίγον μέλει τοῦ γέλωτος τῶν θεατῶν. οὐκ ἄκαιρον δ' ἂν γένοιτο καὶ Λέσβιον μῦθόν τινα διηγῆσασθαί σοι πάλαι γενόμενον. ὅτε τὸν Ὀρφέα διεσπάσαντο αἱ Θοραῖται, φασὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ σὺν **15** τῇ λύρῃ εἰς τὸν Ἑβρον ἐμπεσοῦσαν ἐκβληθῆναι εἰς τὸν μέλανα κόλπον, καὶ ἐπιπλεῖν γε τὴν κεφαλὴν τῇ λύρῃ, τὴν μὲν αἰδου- σαν θρῆνόν τινα ἐπὶ τῷ Ὀρφεῖ, ὡς λόγος, τὴν λύραν δὲ αὐτὴν ὑπηχεῖν τῶν ἀνέμων ἐπιπτόντων ταῖς χορδαῖς, καὶ οὕτω μετ' ὠιδῆς προσενεχθῆναι τῇ Λέσβῳ, κάκεινους ἀνελόμενους τὴν μὲν **20** κεφαλὴν καταθάψαι ἵνα περ νῦν τὸ Βακχεῖον αὐτοῖς ἐστί, τὴν λύραν δὲ ἀναθεῖναι εἰς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ γε σώιζεσθαι

**12** αὐτήν. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Νέανθον τὸν τοῦ Πιττακοῦ τοῦ τυράν- νου ταῦτα ὑπὲρ τῆς λύρας πυνθανόμενον, ὡς ἐκῆλει μὲν θηρία καὶ φυτὰ καὶ λίθους, ἐμελῶιδει δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Ὀρφέως συμ- **25** φοράν μηδενὸς ἀπτομένου, πρὸς ἔρωτα τοῦ κτήματος ἐμπεσεῖν καὶ διαφθεῖραντα τὸν ἱερέα μεγάλοις χρήμασιν πείσαι ὑποθέντα ἐτέραν ὁμοίαν λύραν δοῦναι αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ Ὀρφέως. λαβόντα δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς οἶσθαι εἶναι, νύκτωρ δὲ ὑπὸ κόλπου ἔχοντα μόνον προελθεῖν εἰς τὸ προάστειον καὶ προχειρισά- **30** μενον κρούειν καὶ συνταράττειν τὰς χορδὰς ἀτεχνον καὶ ἄμουσον νεανίσκον, ἐλπίζοντα μέλη τινὰ θεσπέσια ὑπηχῆσειν τὴν λύραν ὑφ' ὧν πάντας καταθέλξειν καὶ κηλήσειν, καὶ ὅλως μακάριον ἔσεσθαι κληρονομήσαντα τῆς Ὀρφέως μουσικῆς· ἄχρι δὲ συνελθόντας τοὺς κύνας πρὸς τὸν ἦχον πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν αὐτόθι διασπάσασθαι **35** αὐτόν, ὡς τοῦτο γοῦν ὁμοιον τῷ Ὀρφεῖ παθεῖν καὶ μόνους ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν συγκαλέσαι τοὺς κύνας. ὅτε περ καὶ σαφέστατα ὥφθη ὡς οὐχ ἡ λύρα ἢ θέलगουσα ἦν, ἀλλὰ ἡ τέχνη καὶ ἡ ὠιδή, ἃ μόνᾳ ἐξάριετα τῷ Ὀρφεῖ

παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς ὑπῆρχεν· ἡ λύρα δὲ ἄλλως κτήμα ἦν, οὐδὲν ἄμεινον τῶν ἄλλων βαρβίτων.

Καὶ τί σοὶ τὸν Ὀρφέα ἢ τὸν Νέανθον λέγω, ὅπου καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς **13** αὐτοὺς ἐγένετο τις καὶ ἔτι ἐστί, οἶμαι, ὅς τὸν Ἐπικτήτου λύχνον τοῦ **5** Στωϊκοῦ κεραμεοῦν ὄντα τρισχιλίων δραχμῶν ἐπρίατο· ἡλπιζεν γὰρ οἶμαι κάκεινος, εἰ τῶν νυκτῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ τῷ λύχνῳ ἀναγιγνώσκοι, αὐτίκα μάλα καὶ τὴν Ἐπικτήτου σοφίαν ὄναρ ἐπικτήσεσθαι καὶ ὁμοιος ἔσεσθαι τῷ θαυμαστῷ ἐκείνῳ γέροντι.

Χθὲς δὲ καὶ πρῶτην ἄλλος τις τὴν Πρωτέως τοῦ Κυνικοῦ βακ- **14** τηρίαν, ἣν καταθέμενος ἤλατο εἰς τὸ πῦρ, ταλάντου κάκεινος ἐπρίατο, καὶ ἔχει μὲν τὸ κειμήλιον τοῦτο καὶ δείκνυσιν ὡς Τεγεᾶ- ται τοῦ Καλυδωνίου τὸ δέρμα καὶ Θηβαῖοι τὰ ὅστ' αὐτοῦ Γηρυόνοιο καὶ Μεμφῖται τῆς Ἰσίδος τοὺς πλοκάμους· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ τοῦ θαυμασ- **15** τοῦ κτήματος δεσπότης καὶ αὐτὸν σὲ τῇ ἀπαιδευσίᾳ καὶ βδελυρίᾳ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς δεόμενος.

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Διονύσιον τραγωιδίαν ποιεῖν φαύλως πάννυ καὶ **15** γελοῖως, ὥστε τὸν Φιλόξενον πολλάκις δι' αὐτὴν εἰς τὰς λατομίας ἐμπεσεῖν οὐ δυνάμενον κατέχειν τὸν γέλωτα. οὗτος τοίνυν πυθόμενος **20** ὡς ἐγγελάται, τὸ Αἰσχύλου πυξίον εἰς ὃ ἐκείνος ἔγραφε σὺν πολλῇ σπουδῇ κτησάμενος, αὐτὸς ὦιετο ἔνθεος ἔσεσθαι καὶ κάτοχος ἐκ τοῦ πυξίου· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ μακρῶι γελοιότερα ἔγραφεν, οἷον κάκεῖνο τὸ

Δωρὶς τέθνηκεν ἡ Διονυσίου γυνή.

**25** καὶ πάλιν

οἶμοι, γυναῖκα χρησίμην ἀπώλεσα.

καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ πυξίου καὶ τὸ

αὐτοῖς γὰρ ἐμπαίζουσιν οἱ μῶροι βροτῶν.

Τοῦτο μὲν γε πρὸς σὲ μάλιστα εὐστόχως ἂν εἰρημένον εἴη τῷ **30** Διονυσίῳ, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ χρυσῶσαι αὐτοῦ ἔδει ἐκεῖνο τὸ πυξίον. τίνα γὰρ ἐλπίδα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων εἰς τὰ βιβλία καὶ ἀνατυλίττεις αἰεὶ καὶ διακολλᾷς καὶ περικόπτεις καὶ ἀλείφεις τῷ κρόκῳ καὶ τῇ κέδρῳ καὶ διφθέρας περιβάλλεις καὶ ὀμφαλοὺς ἐντίθης, ὡς δὴ τι ἀπολαύσαν

7 ἐπικτήσεσθαι Roepert: ἐπιστή- M 12 ὡς ante τὸ add. Cobet 21 αὐτὸς Macleod καὶ αὐτὸς Jacobs): αὐτὸ M 24 Δωρὶς τέθνηκεν C. F. Hermann: Δωρικὸν ἦκεν M: Δωρίδιον ἦκεν Seiler 31 εἰς M: φυλάττει Harmon

αὐτῶν; πάνυ γοῦν ἤδη βελτίων γεγένησαι διὰ τὴν ὥνην, ὅς τοιαῦτα  
 μὲν φθέγγῃ – μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν ἰχθύων ἀφωνότερος εἶ – βιοῖς δὲ ὡς  
 οὐδ' εἰπεῖν καλόν, μῖσος δὲ ἄγριον, φασί, παρὰ πάντων ἔχεις ἐπὶ τῇ  
 βδελυρίᾳ· ὡς εἰ τοιούτους ἀπειργάζετο τὰ βιβλία, φυγῇ φευκτέον  
 17 ἂν ἦν ὅτι πορρωτάτῳ ἀπ' αὐτῶν. δυοῖν δὲ ὄντοιν ἅτ' ἂν παρὰ τῶν  
 παλαιῶν τις κτήσαιτο, λέγειν τε δύνασθαι καὶ πράττειν τὰ δέοντα  
 ζήλωι τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ φυγῇ τῶν χειρόνων, ὅταν μήτε ἐκεῖνα μήτε  
 ταῦτα φαίνεται τις παρ' αὐτῶν ὠφελοῦμενος, τί ἄλλο ἢ τοῖς μυσὶ  
 διατριβὰς ὠνεῖται καὶ ταῖς τίλφαις οἰκήσεις καὶ πληγὰς ὡς ἀμελοῦσι  
 τοῖς οἰκέταις;  
 18 Πῶς δὲ οὐ κακῆϊνο αἰσχρόν, εἴ τις ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔχοντά σε βιβλίον  
 ἰδὼν – αἰεὶ δὲ τι πάντως ἔχεις – ἔροιτο οὕτινος ἢ ῥήτορος ἢ συγ-  
 γραφέως ἢ ποιητοῦ ἐστί, σὺ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς εἰδὼς πρῶτος εἴποις  
 τοῦτό γε· εἴτα, ὡς φιλεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν συνουσίαι προχωρεῖν εἰς  
 μήκος λόγων, ὁ μὲν ἐπαινοῖ τι ἢ αἰτιώτο τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων, σὺ  
 15 δὲ ἀποροῖς καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοις εἰπεῖν; οὐκ εὖξῃ τότε χανεῖν σοι τὴν  
 γῆν, κατὰ σεαυτοῦ ὁ Βελλεροφόντης περιφέρων τὸ βιβλίον;  
 19 Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ Κυνικός ἰδὼν ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἀπαίδευτόν τινα βιβλίον  
 κάλλιστον ἀναγιγνώσκοντα τὰς Βάκχας οἶμαι τοῦ Εὐριπίδου,  
 κατὰ τὸν ἄγγελον δὲ ἦν τὸν διηγούμενον τὰ τοῦ Πενθέως πάθη  
 20 καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀγαυῆς ἔργον – ἀρπάσας διέσπασεν αὐτὸ εἰπὼν,  
 Ἄμεινόν ἐστι τῷ Πενθεῖ ἅπαξ σπαραχθῆναι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἢ ὑπὸ σοῦ  
 πολλὰκις.  
 Ζητῶν δὲ αἰεὶ πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν οὕτω καὶ τήμερον εὐρεῖν δεδύνημαι  
 τίνος ἕνεκα τὴν σπουδὴν ταύτην ἐσπούδακας περὶ τὴν ὥνην τῶν  
 25 βιβλίων· ὠφελείας μὲν γὰρ ἢ χρείας τῆς ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἂν οἰηθεῖ  
 τις τῶν καὶ ἐπ' ἐλάχιστόν γε εἰδόντων, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ φαλακρὸς ἂν τις  
 πρίαιτο κτένας ἢ κάτοπτρον ὁ τυφλὸς ἢ ὁ κωφὸς αὐλητὴν ἢ παλ-  
 λακὴν ὁ εὐνοῦχος ἢ ὁ ἡπειρώτης κώπην ἢ ὁ κυβερνήτης ἄροτρον.  
 ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπιδείξιν πλούτου σοι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔχει καὶ βούλει τοῦτο  
 30 ἐμφῆναι ἅπασιν, ὅτι καὶ εἰς τὰ μηδὲν σοι χρήσιμα ὅμως ἐκ πολλῆς τῆς  
 περιουσίας ἀναλίσκεις; καὶ μὴν ὅσα γε κάμει Σύρον ὄντα εἰδέναι, εἰ μὴ  
 σαυτὸν φέρων ταῖς τοῦ γέροντος ἐκείνου διαθήκαις παρενέγραψας,  
 ἀπολώλεις ἂν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἤδη καὶ ἀγορὰν προϋτίθεις τῶν βιβλίων.  
 20 λοιπὸν οὖν δὴ ἐκεῖνο, πεπεισμένον ὑπὸ τῶν κολάκων ὡς οὐ μόνον  
 35 καλὸς εἶ καὶ ἐράσμιος ἀλλὰ σοφὸς καὶ ῥήτωρ καὶ συγγραφεὺς οἷος  
 οὐδ' ἕτερος, ὠνεῖσθαι τὰ βιβλία, ὡς ἀληθεύοις τοὺς ἐπαίνους αὐτῶν·  
 φασὶ δὲ σὲ καὶ λόγους ἐπιδείκνυσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ δειπνῷ κακῆϊνους

χερσαίων βατράχων δίκην διψῶντας κεκραγέειν, ἢ μὴ πίνειν, ἢ μὴ  
 διαρραγῶσι βοῶντες.

Καὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἷδ' ὅπως ῥᾷστος εἶ τῆς ῥίνος ἔλκεσθαι, καὶ πιστεύεις  
 αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα, ὅς ποτε κακῆϊνο ἐπείσθης, ὡς βασιλεῖ τι νῶμοιόωθης  
 5 τὴν ὄψιν, καθάπερ ὁ ψευδαλέξανδρος καὶ ὁ ψευδοφίλιππος ἐκείνος  
 κναφεὺς καὶ ὁ κατὰ τοὺς προπάτορας ἡμῶν ψευδονέρων καὶ εἴ τις  
 ἄλλος τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ ψευδο τεταγμένων.

Καὶ τί θαυμαστὸν εἰ τοῦτο ἔπαθες, ἀνόητος καὶ ἀπαίδευτος ἄνθρω-  
 10 πος, καὶ προήϊεις ἐξυπτιάζων καὶ μιμούμενος βάδισμα καὶ σχῆμα  
 καὶ βλέμμα ἐκείνου ὧι σεαυτὸν εἰκάζων ἔχαιρες, ὅπου καὶ Πύρ-  
 ρον φασὶ τὸν Ἡπειρώτην, τὰ ἄλλα θαυμαστὸν ἄνδρα, οὕτως ὑπὸ  
 κολάκων ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοίῳ ποτὲ διαφθαρῆναι ὡς πιστεύειν ὅτι ὁμοῖος  
 ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκείνῳ; καίτοι τὸ τῶν μουσικῶν τοῦτο, δις διὰ  
 15 πασῶν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἦν· εἶδον γὰρ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πύρρου εἰκόνα· καὶ  
 ὅμως ἐπέπειστο ἐκμεμάχθαι τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν μορφήν. ἀλλ' ἕνεκα  
 μὲν δὴ τούτων ὕβρισταί μοι εἰς τὸν Πύρρον, ὅτι σὲ εἵκασα κατὰ τοῦτο  
 αὐτῷ· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου καὶ πάνυ σοι πρέπον ἂν εἴη. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὕτω  
 20 διέκειτο ὁ Πύρρος καὶ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπέπειστο, οὐδεὶς ὅστις  
 οὐ συνετίθετο καὶ συνέπασχεν αὐτῷ, ἄχρι δὴ τις ἐν Λαρίσῃ πρεσ-  
 βῦτις ξένῃ αὐτῷ τάληθες εἰποῦσα ἔπαυσεν αὐτὸν τῆς κορύζης. ὁ  
 μὲν γὰρ Πύρρος ἐπιδείξας αὐτῇ εἰκόνα Φιλίππου καὶ Περδίκκου καὶ  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Κασσάνδρου καὶ ἄλλων βασιλέων ἤρετο τίνι ὁμοῖος  
 εἴη, πάνυ πεπεισμένος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἦξιν αὐτήν, ἢ δὲ πολὺν  
 25 ἐν τῇ Λαρίσῃ Βατραχίων μάγειρος τῷ Πύρρῳ ὁμοῖος.

Καὶ σὺ δὴ ὧτινι μὲν τῶν τοῖς ὀρχησταῖς συνόντων κιναίδων  
 22 ἔοικας οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι, ὅτι δὲ μανίαν ἐρρωμένην ἔτι καὶ νῦν μαί-  
 νεσθαι δοκεῖς ἅπασιν ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ τῇ εἰκόνι, πάνυ σαφῶς οἶδα.  
 οὐκ οὐκ θαυμαστὸν, εἰ ἀπίθανος οὕτως ζωγράφος ὢν καὶ τοῖς  
 30 πεπαιδευμένοις ἐξομοιοῦσθαι ἐθέλεις, πιστεύων τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα σε  
 ἐπαινοῦσιν.

Καίτοι τί ταῦτα ληρῶ; πρόδηλος γὰρ ἡ αἰτία τῆς περὶ τὰ  
 βιβλία σπουδῆς, εἰ καὶ ὑπὸ νωθείας ἐγὼ μὴ πάλαι κατεῖδον·  
 35 σοφὸν γάρ, ὡς γοῦν οἶει, τοῦτ' ἐπινενόηκας καὶ ἐλπίδας οὐ μικρὰς  
 ἔχεις περὶ τοῦ πράγματος, εἰ βασιλεὺς μάθοι ταῦτα σοφὸς ἀνὴρ  
 καὶ παιδεῖαν μάλιστα τιμῶν· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐκείνος ἀκού-  
 σειεν, ὡς ὦν ἢ βιβλία καὶ συνάγεις πολλὰ, πάντα ἐν βραχεὶ παρ'



- 23 αὐτοῦ ἔσεσθαι σοι νομίζεις. ἀλλ', ὦ κατάπυγον, οἷε τοσοῦτον μαν-  
 δραγόραν κατακεχύσθαι αὐτοῦ ὡς ταῦτα μὲν ἀκούειν, ἐκεῖνα δὲ μὴ  
 εἰδέναι, οἷος μὲν σου ὁ μεθ' ἡμέραν βίος, οἷοι δὲ σοι πότοι, ὅποῖαι  
 δὲ νύκτες καὶ οἷοις καὶ ἡλίκοις συγκαθεύδεις; οὐκ οἶσθα ὡς ὧτα καὶ  
 ὀφθαλμοὶ πολλοὶ βασιλέως; τὰ δὲ σὰ οὕτω περιφανῆ ἐστὶν ὡς καὶ  
 τυφλοῖς εἶναι καὶ κωφοῖς γινώριμα· εἰ γὰρ καὶ φθέγγαιο μόνον, εἰ  
 γὰρ καὶ λουόμενος ἀποδύσαιο, μᾶλλον δὲ μὴ ἀποδύσῃ, εἰ δοκεῖ, οἱ  
 δ' οἰκείται μόνον ἢν ἀποδύσωνταί σου, τί οἷε; μὴ αὐτίκα ἔσεσθαι  
 πάντα σου πρόδηλα τὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπόρρητα; εἰπὲ γοῦν μοι καὶ  
 τόδε, εἰ Βάσσος ὁ ὑμέτερος ἐκείνος σοφιστῆς ἢ Βάταλος ὁ αὐλητῆς  
 ἢ ὁ κίναϊδος Ἡμιθέων ὁ Συβαρίτης, ὃς τοὺς θαυμαστούς ὑμῖν νόμους  
 συνέγραψεν, ὡς χρή λεαίνεσθαι καὶ παρατίλλεσθαι καὶ πάσχειν  
 καὶ ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνα, — εἰ τούτων τις νυνὶ λεοντῆν περιβαλόμενος καὶ  
 ῥόπαλον ἔχων βαδίζει, τί οἷε φανεῖσθαι τοῖς ὀρώσιν; Ἡρακλέα εἶναι  
 αὐτόν; οὐκ, εἴ γε μὴ χύτραις λημῶντες τυγχάνοιεν. μυρία γὰρ ἐστί  
 τὰ ἀντιμαρτυροῦντα τῷ σχήματι, βάδισμα καὶ βλέμμα καὶ φωνή  
 καὶ τράχηλος ἐπικεκλασμένος καὶ ψιμύθιον καὶ μαστίχη καὶ φῦκος,  
 οἷς ὑμεῖς κοσμεῖσθε, καὶ ὅλως κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, θᾶπτον ἂν πέντε  
 ἐλέφαντας ὑπὸ μάλης κρύψειας ἢ ἓνα κίναϊδον. εἴτα ἡ λεοντῆ μὲν  
 τὸν τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἂν ἔκρυπεν, σὺ δ' οἷε λήσειν σκεπόμενος βιβλίῳ;  
 ἀλλ' οὐ δυνατόν· προδώσει γὰρ σε καὶ ἀποκαλύψει τὰ ἄλλα ὑμῶν  
 γνωρίσματα.
- 24 Τὸ δ' ὅλον ἀγνοεῖν μοι δοκεῖς ὅτι τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας οὐ παρὰ τῶν  
 βιβλιοκαπήλων δεῖ ζητεῖν, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου  
 λαμβάνειν. σὺ δ' οἷε συνήγορον κοινὸν καὶ μάρτυρα ἔσεσθαι σοι τὸν  
 Ἀττικὸν καὶ Καλλῖνον τοὺς βιβλιογράφους; οὐκ, ἀλλ' ὠμούς τινας  
 ἀνθρώπους ἐπιτρίψοντάς σε, ἢν οἱ θεοὶ ἐθέλωσι, καὶ πρὸς ἔσχατον  
 πενίας συνελάσοντάς· δέον ἔτι νῦν σωφρονήσαντα ἀποδόσθαι μὲν  
 τινι τῶν πεπαιδευμένων τὰ βιβλία ταῦτα καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς τὴν νεό-  
 κτητον ταύτην οἰκίαν, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ τοῖς ἀνδραποδοκαπήλοις μέρος  
 γοῦν ἀπὸ πολλῶν τῶν ὀφειλομένων.
- 25 Καὶ γὰρ κἀκεῖνα· περὶ δύο ταῦτα δεινῶς ἐσπούδακας, βιβλίων  
 τε τῶν πολυτελῶν κτῆσιν καὶ μεираκίων τῶν ἐξώρων καὶ ἥδη  
 καρτερῶν ὦνῃν, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα σοι πάννυ σπουδάζεται καὶ θηρεύε-  
 ται. ἀδύνατον δὲ πένητα ὄντα πρὸς ἄμφω διαρκεῖν. σκόπει τοί-  
 νυν ὡς ἱερὸν χρῆμα συμβουλή. ἀξιώ γὰρ σε ἀφήμενον τῶν μηδὲν  
 προσηκόντων τὴν ἑτέραν νόσον θεραπεύειν καὶ τοὺς ὑπέρτας

12 λεαίνεσθαι Markland: μαίνεσθαι M 15 μὴ add. Fritzsche: οὐκ εἴ γε m: οὐχί γε m:  
 οὐκ εἴ γε καὶ m: οὐκ εἴ καὶ Macleod 32 καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα m: fort. latet menda

- ἐκείνους ὠνεῖσθαι, ὅπως μὴ ἐπιλειπόντων σε τῶν οἴκοθεν μεταστέλ-  
 λοῖό τινας τῶν ἐλευθέρων, οἷς ἀκίνδυνον ἀπελθοῦσιν, ἢν μὴ λάβ-  
 ωσιν ἅπαντα, ἐξαγορεῦσαι τὰ πραχθέντα ὑμῖν μετὰ τὸν πότον,  
 οἷα καὶ πρῶτην αἰσχίστα περὶ σοῦ διηγεῖτο ἐξελθὼν ὁ πόρνος, ἔτι  
 καὶ δῆγματα ἐπιδεικνύς. ἀλλ' ἔγωγε καὶ μάρτυρας ἂν παρασχοίμην  
 τοὺς τότε παρόντας ὡς ἡγανάκτησα καὶ ὀλίγου πληγὰς ἐνέτριψα  
 αὐτῷ χαλεπαίνων ὑπὲρ σοῦ, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτε καὶ ἄλλον ἐπεκαλέσατο  
 μάρτυρα τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ ἄλλον ταῦτα καὶ λόγοις διηγούμενους.  
 πρὸς δὴ ταῦτα, ὦγαθέ, ταμιεῦοι τὰργύριον καὶ φύλαττε, ὡς οἴκοι  
 καὶ κατὰ πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν ταῦτα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν ἔχῃς. ὥστε  
 μὲν γὰρ μηκέτι ἐργάζεσθαι τίς ἂν μεταπείσειέν σε; οὐδὲ γὰρ κύων  
 ἅπαξ παύσαιτ' ἂν σκυτοτραγεῖν μαθοῦσα. τὸ δ' ἕτερον ῥαίδιον, τὸ  
 μηκέτι ὠνεῖσθαι βιβλία. ἱκανῶς πεπαιδευσαί, ἄλλῃ σοι τῆς σοφίας.  
 μόνον οὐκ ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ χείλους ἔχεις τὰ παλαιὰ πάντα. πᾶσαν μὲν  
 ἱστορίαν οἶσθα, πάσας δὲ λόγων τέχνας καὶ κάλλη αὐτῶν καὶ κακίας  
 καὶ ὀνομάτων χρῆσιν τῶν Ἀττικῶν· πάνσοφόν τι χρῆμα καὶ ἄκρον  
 ἐν παιδείᾳ γεγένησαι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βιβλίων. κωλύει γὰρ οὐδὲν  
 κάμει σοι ἐνδιατρίβειν, ἐπειδὴ χαίρεις ἐξαπατῶμενος.
- Ἡδέως δ' ἂν καὶ ἐροίμην σε, τὰ τοσαῦτα βιβλία ἔχων τί  
 μάλιστα ἀναγιγνώσκεις αὐτῶν; τὰ Πλάτωνος; τὰ Ἀντισθένης; τὰ  
 Ἀρχιλόχου; τὰ Ἱππώνακτος; ἢ τούτων μὲν ὑπερφρονεῖς, ῥήτορες  
 δὲ μάλιστά σοι διὰ χειρὸς; εἰπέ μοι, καὶ Αἰσχίνου τὸν κατὰ Τιμάρ-  
 χου λόγον ἀναγιγνώσκεις; ἢ ἐκεῖνα γε πάντα οἶσθα καὶ γινώσκεις  
 αὐτῶν ἕκαστον, τὸν δὲ Ἀριστοφάνην καὶ τὸν Εὐπολιν ὑποδέδουκας;  
 ἀνέγνως καὶ τοὺς Βάπτας, τὸ δρᾶμα ὅλον; εἴτ' οὐδὲν σου τάκεῖ  
 καθίκετο, οὐδ' ἡρυθρίασας γνωρίσας αὐτά; τοῦτο γοῦν καὶ μάλιστα  
 θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις, τίνα ποτὲ ψυχὴν ἔχων ἄπτηι τῶν βιβλίων,  
 ὅποιας αὐτὰ χερσὶν ἀνελίστεις. πότε δὲ ἀναγιγνώσκεις; μεθ' ἡμέραν;  
 ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς ἐώρακε τοῦτο ποιοῦντα. ἀλλὰ νύκτωρ; πότερον ἐπιτε-  
 ταγμένος ἤδη ἐκείνοις ἢ πρὸ τῶν λόγων; ἀλλὰ πρὸς Κότυος μηκέτι  
 μὴ τολμήσης τοιοῦτο μηδὲν, ἄφες δὲ τὰ βιβλία καὶ μόνον ἐργά-  
 ζου τὰ σαυτοῦ. καίτοι ἔχρῃν μηκέτι μηδὲ ἐκεῖνα, αἰδεσθῆναι δὲ τὴν  
 τοῦ Εὐριπίδου Φαίδραν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀγανακτοῦσαν καὶ  
 λέγουσαν
- οὐδὲ σκότον φρίσσουσι τὸν συνεργάτην  
 τέρεμνά τ' οἴκων μὴ ποτε φθογγὴν ἀφῇ.

8 καὶ ἄλλον ταῦτα <καὶ σημείοις ἐνδεικνυμένους> καὶ λόγοις διηγούμενους  
 Nesselrath 22 σοι διὰ Jacobitz: σοι τούτων διὰ M 27 ποτὲ ψυχὴν Gesner: ἀπὸ  
 ψυχῆς M 30 πρὸς Κότυος Burmeister: πρὸς Κότους m: πρὸς σκότους m

εἰ δὲ πάντως ἐμμένειν τῇ ὁμοίᾳ νόσῳ διέγνωσται, ἴθι, ὦνοῦ μὲν βιβλία καὶ οἶκοι κατακλείσας ἔχε καὶ καρποῦ τὴν δόξαν τῶν κτημάτων. ἱκανόν σοι καὶ τοῦτο. προσάψῃ δε μηδέποτε μηδὲ ἀναγνώσις μηδὲ ὑπαγάγῃς τῇ γλώττῃ παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν λόγους καὶ ποιήματα μηδὲν δεινόν σε εἰργασμένα.

Οἶδα ὡς μάτην ταῦτά μοι λελήρηται καὶ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν Αἰθίοπα σμήχειν ἐπιχειρῶ· σὺ γὰρ ὠνήσῃ καὶ χρήσῃ εἰς οὐδὲν καὶ καταγελαστήσῃ πρὸς τῶν πεπαιδευμένων, οἷς ἀπόχρη ὠφελείσθαι οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ κάλλους τῶν βιβλίων οὐδ' ἐκ τῆς πολυτελείας αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τῆς γνώμης τῶν γεγραφότων. σὺ δὲ οἶε θεράπευσεν τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν καὶ ἐπικαλύψειν τῇ δόξῃ ταύτῃ καὶ ἐκπλήξῃ τῷ πλήθει τῶν βιβλίων, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἀμαθέστατοι τῶν ἱατρῶν τὸ αὐτὸ σοὶ ποιοῦσιν, ἐλεφαντίνους νάρθηκας καὶ σικύας ἀργυρᾶς ποιοῦμενοι καὶ σμίλας χρυσοκολλήτους· ὁπότεν δὲ καὶ χρήσασθαι τούτοις δέη, οἱ μὲν οὐδὲ ὅπως χρή μεταχειρίσασθαι αὐτὰ ἴσασιν· παρελθὼν δὲ τις εἰς τὸ μέσον τῶν μεμαθηκότων φλεβότομον εὖ μάλα ἠκονημένον ἔχων ἰοῦ τᾶλλα μεστὸν ἀπήλλαξεν τῆς ὀδύνης τὸν νοσοῦντα. ἵνα δὲ καὶ γελοιοτέρῳ τινὶ τὰ σὰ εἰκάσω, τοὺς κουρέας τούτους ἐπίσκεψαι, καὶ ὄψει τοὺς μὲν τεχνίτας αὐτῶν ξυρὸν καὶ μαχαιρίδας καὶ κάτοπτρον σύμμετρον ἔχοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἰδιώτας πληθεὺς μαχαιριδίων προτιθέντας καὶ κάτοπτρα μεγάλα, οὐ μὴν λήσιν γε διὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲν εἰδότας. ἀλλὰ τὸ γελοιότατον ἐκεῖνο πάσχουσιν, ὅτι κείρονται μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ παρὰ τοῖς γείτοσιν αὐτῶν, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐκείνων κάτοπτρα προσελθόντες τὰς κόμας εὐθετί- ζουσιν. καὶ σὺ τοίνυν ἄλλω μὲν δεηθέντι χρήσεαι ἂν τὰ βιβλία, χρῆσασθαι δὲ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἂν δύναιο. καίτοι οὐδὲ ἔχρησάς τινι βιβλίον πώποτε, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς κυνὸς ποιεῖς τῆς ἐν τῇ φάντῃ κατακειμένης, ἢ οὔτε αὐτὴ τῶν κριθῶν ἐσθίει οὔτε τῷ ἵππῳ δυναμένῳ φαγεῖν ἐπιτρέπει.

Ταῦτα τό γε νῦν εἶναι ὑπὲρ μόνων τῶν βιβλίων παρρησιάζομαι πρὸς σέ, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα κατάπτυστα καὶ ἐπνοείδιστα ποιεῖς, αὐθις ἀκούσῃ πολλάκις.

#### IV ΜΥΙΑΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ

Ἡ μυῖα ἔστι μὲν οὐ τὸ σμικρότατον τῶν ὀρνέων, ὅσον ἐμπίσι καὶ κώνωσι καὶ τοῖς ἔτι λεπτοτέροις παραβάλλειν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον ἐκείνων μεγέθει προὔχει ὅσον αὐτὴ μελίττης ἀπολείπεται. ἐπτέρω- ται δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὡς τοῖς μὲν ἀπανταχόθεν κομᾶν τοῦ σώματος, τοῖς δὲ ὠκυπτέροις χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς ἀκρίδας καὶ τέττιγας καὶ μελίττας ἔστιν ὑμενόπτερος, τοσοῦτον ἀπαλώτερα ἔχουσα τὰ πτερὰ ὅσον τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἐσθῆτος ἡ Ἰνδικὴ λεπτοτέρα καὶ μαλακώτερα· καὶ μὴν διήνθισται κατὰ τοὺς ταῶνας, εἴ τις ἀτενὲς βλέποι ἐς αὐτήν, ὁπότεν ἐκπετάσασα πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον πτερύσσηται. ἡ δὲ πτῆσις οὔτε κατὰ τὰς νυκτερίδας εἰρεσίαι συνεχῆ τῶν πτερῶν οὔτε κατὰ τὰς ἀκρίδας μετὰ πηδήματος οὔτε ὡς οἱ σφήκες μετὰ ροιζήματος, ἀλλ' εὐκαμπὴς πρὸς ὃ τι ἂν μέρος ὀρμήσῃ τοῦ ἀέρος. καὶ μὴν κἀκεῖνο πρόσσεστιν αὐτῇ, τὸ μὴ καθ' ἡσυχίαν, ἀλλὰ μετ' ὠιδῆς πέτεσθαι οὐκ ἀπηνούς οἷα κωνώπων καὶ ἐμπίδων, οὐδὲ τὸ βαρύβρομον τῶν μελιττῶν ἢ τῶν σφηκῶν τὸ φοβερόν καὶ ἀπειλητικὸν ἐνδεικνυμένης, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτόν ἐστι λιγυρωτέρα, ὅσον σάλπιγγος καὶ κυμβάλων αὐλοὶ μελιχρότεροι. τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῶμα μὲν κεφαλὴ λεπτότατα τῷ αὐχένι συνέχεται καὶ ἔστιν εὐπεριάγωγος, οὐ συμπεφυκυῖα ὡς ἡ τῶν ἀκρίδων· ὀφθαλμοὶ δὲ προπαλεῖς, πολὺ τοῦ κέρατος ἔχοντες· στέρνον εὐπαγές, καὶ ἐκπεφύκασιν αὐτῇ οἱ πόδες οὐ κατὰ τοὺς σφήκας πάνυ ἐσφιγμένῃ. ἡ γαστήρ δὲ ὠχύρωται καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ θώρακι ἔοικεν ζώνας πλατείας καὶ φολίδας ἔχουσα. ἀμύνεται μέντοι οὐ κατὰ τοῦρροπύγιον ὡς σφήξ καὶ μελίττα, ἀλλὰ τῷ στόματι καὶ τῇ προβοσκίδι, ἣν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἐλέφασιν καὶ αὐτὴ ἔχουσα προνομεύει τε καὶ ἐπιλαμβάνεται καὶ προσφύσα κατέχει κοτυληδόνι κατὰ τὸ ἄκρον ἐοικυῖαν. ἐκ δὲ αὐτῆς ὀδοὺς προκύπτει ὧι κεντοῦσα πίνει τοῦ αἵματος – πίνει μὲν γὰρ καὶ γάλακτος, ἡδὺ δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ αἷμα – οὐ μετὰ μεγάλης ὀδύνης τῶν κεντουμένων. ἐξάπους δὲ οὔσα τοῖς μὲν τέσσαρσι βαδίζει μόνοις, τοῖς δὲ προσθίοις δυσὶ καὶ ὅσα χερσὶ χρήται. ἴδοις ἂν οὖν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τεττάρων βεβηκυῖαν ἔχουσάν τι ἐν τοῖν χεροῖν μετέωρον ἐδώδιμον, ἀνθρωπίνως πάνυ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς.

14 ἀπηνούς DuSoul: -ὥς M οἷα Fritzsche: οἷα M 20 ἐμπεφύκασιν m τῇ ἐντομῇ post αὐτῇ add. E. Schwartz 21 ἐσφιγμένη E. Schwartz: -μένον M

- 4 Γίνεται δὲ οὐκ εὐθύς τοιαύτη, ἀλλὰ σκώληξ τὸ πρῶτον ἦτοι ἐξ  
ἀνθρώπων ἢ ἄλλων ζώων ἀποθανόντων· εἴτα κατ' ὀλίγον πόδας τε  
ἐκφέρει καὶ φύει τὰ πτερὰ καὶ ἐξ ἔρπετοῦ ὄρνειον γίνεται καὶ κυφορεῖ  
δὲ καὶ ἀποτίκτει σκώληκα μικρὸν τὴν μυῖαν ὕστερον. σύντροφος δὲ  
ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχουσα καὶ ὁμοδαίτιος καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος ἀπάντων  
γεύεται πλὴν ἐλαίου· θάνατος γὰρ αὐτῇ τοῦτο πιεῖν. καὶ μέντοι  
ὠκύμορος οὖσα – πάννυ γὰρ ἐς στενὸν ὁ βίος αὐτῆς συμμεμέτρηται –  
τῷ φωτὶ χαίρει μάλιστα κὰν τούτῳ πολιτεύεται· νυκτὸς δὲ εἰρήνην  
5 ἄγει καὶ οὔτε πέτεται οὔτε αἶδει, ἀλλ' ὑπέπτηχε καὶ ἀτρεμεῖ. σύνεσιν  
δὲ οὐ μικρὰν αὐτῆς εἰπεῖν ἔχω, ὁπότεν τὸν ἐπίβουλον καὶ πολέμιον  
αὐτῇ τὸν ἀράχνην διαδιδράσκη· λοχῶντά τε γὰρ ἐπιτηρεῖ καὶ  
ἀντίον αὐτῷ ὄρῃ ἐκκλίνουσα τὴν ὁρμήν, ὥς μὴ ἀλίσκοιτο σαγη-  
νευθεῖσα καὶ περιπεσοῦσα ταῖς τοῦ θηρίου πλεκτάναις. τὴν μὲν  
γὰρ ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν ἀλκὴν αὐτῆς οὐχ ἡμᾶς χρὴ λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὅς  
μεγαλοφρονότατος τῶν ποιητῶν Ὀμηρος· τὸν γὰρ ἄριστον τῶν  
15 ἡρώων ἐπαινέσαι ζητῶν οὐ λένοντι ἢ παρδάλει ἢ ὑῖ τὴν ἀλκὴν  
αὐτοῦ εἰκάζει, ἀλλὰ τῷ θάρσει τῆς μυῖας καὶ τῷ ἀτρέστῳ καὶ  
λιπαρεῖ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως· οὐδὲ γὰρ θράσος ἀλλὰ θάρσος φησὶν  
αὐτῇ προσεῖναι. καὶ γὰρ εἰργομένη, φησὶν, ὅμως οὐκ ἀφίσταται,  
ἀλλ' ἐφέιται τοῦ δήγματος. οὕτω δὲ πάννυ ἐπαινεῖ καὶ ἀσπάζεται τὴν  
20 μυῖαν, ὥστε οὐχ ἄπας οὐδ' ἐν ὀλίγοις μένηται αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ πολ-  
λάκις· οὕτω κοσμεῖ τὰ ἔπη μνημονευομένη. ἄρτι μὲν τὴν ἀγελαίαν  
πτῆσιν αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὸ γάλα διέρχεται, ἄρτι δὲ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ὁπότε τοῦ  
Μενέλεω τὸ βέλος ἀποκρούεται, ὥς μὴ ἐπὶ τὰ καιριώτατα ἐμπέσοι,  
εἰκάζων μητρὶ κηδομένη κοιμωμένου αὐτῇ τοῦ βρέφους, τὴν μυῖαν  
25 αὐθις ἐπικιάγει τῷ παραδείγματι. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐπιθέτωι καλλίστῳ  
αὐτὰς ἐκόσμησεν ἀδινὰς προσειπὼν καὶ τὴν ἀγέλην αὐτῶν ἔθνη  
καλῶν.
- 6 Οὕτω δὲ ἰσχυρά ἐστιν, ὥσθ' ὁπότεν τι δάκηται, τιτρώσκει οὐκ  
ἀνθρώπου δέρμα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βοὸς καὶ ἵππου, καὶ ἐλέφαντα  
30 λυπεῖ ἐκ τὰς ῥυτίδας αὐτοῦ παρεισδυομένη καὶ τῇ αὐτῆς προνο-  
μαίαι κατὰ λόγον τοῦ μεγέθους ἀμύσσουσα. μίξεως δὲ καὶ ἀφροδι-  
σίων καὶ γάμων πολλὰ αὐταῖς ἡ ἐλευθερία, καὶ ὁ ἄρρη οὐ κατὰ τοὺς  
ἀλεκτρυόνας ἐπιβὰς εὐθύς ἀπειπῆδησεν, ἀλλ' ἐποχεῖται τῇ θηλείᾳ  
ἐπὶ πολὺ, κάκην φέρει τὸν νυμφίον, καὶ συμπέτονται τὴν ἐναέριον  
35 ἐκείνην μίξιν τῇ πτήσῃ μὴ διαφθείρουσαι. ἀποτμηθεῖσα δὲ τὴν  
κεφαλὴν μυῖα ἐπὶ πολὺ ζῇ τῷ σώματι καὶ ἔμπνους ἐστίν.

- 7 Ὁ δὲ μέγιστον ἐν τῇ φύσει αὐτῶν ὑπάρχει, τοῦτο δὲ βούλομαι  
εἰπεῖν, καὶ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ Πλάτων μόνον αὐτὸ παριδεῖν ἐν τῷ περὶ  
ψυχῆς καὶ ἀθανασίας αὐτῆς λόγῳ. ἀποθανοῦσα γὰρ μυῖα τέφρας  
ἐπιχυθείσης ἀνίσταται καὶ παλιγγενεσία τις αὐτῇ καὶ βίος ἄλλος  
5 ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς γίνεται, ὡς ἀκριβῶς πεπεισθαι πάντας, ὅτι κἀκείνων  
ἀθάνατός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχὴ, εἴ γε καὶ ἀπελθοῦσα ἐπανέρχεται πάλιν καὶ  
γνωρίζει καὶ ἐπανίστησι τὸ σῶμα καὶ πέτεσθαι τὴν μυῖαν ποιεῖ, καὶ  
ἐπαληθεύει τὸν περὶ Ἑρμοτίμου τοῦ Κλαζομενίου μῦθον, ὅτι πολ-  
λάκις ἀφίεσα αὐτὸν ἡ ψυχὴ ἀπεδήμει κατ' ἐαυτήν, εἴτα ἐπανελθοῦσα  
10 ἐπλήρου αὐθις τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀνίστα τὸν Ἑρμότιμον.
- Ἀργὸς δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ἄνετος οὖσα τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πονούμενα  
καρποῦται καὶ πλήρης αὐτῇ πανταχοῦ τράπεζα· καὶ γὰρ αἱ αἴγες  
αὐτῇ ἀμέλγονται, καὶ ἡ μέλιττα οὐχ ἥκιστα μυῖαις καὶ ἀνθρώποις  
ἐργάζεται, καὶ οἱ ὀψοποιοὶ ταύτῃ τὰ ὄψα ἡδύνουσι, καὶ βασιλέων  
15 αὐτῶν προγεύεται καὶ ταῖς τραπέζαις ἐμπεριπατοῦσα συνεστιᾷται  
αὐτοῖς καὶ συναπολαύει πάντων. νεοττιὰν δὲ ἢ καλιὰν οὐκ ἐν ἐνὶ  
τόπῳ κατεστήσατο, ἀλλὰ πλάνητα τὴν πτῆσιν κατὰ τοὺς Σκύθας  
ἐπανηριημένη, ὅπου ἂν τύχη ὑπὸ τῆς νυκτὸς καταληφθεῖσα, ἐκεῖ καὶ  
ἐστίαν καὶ εὐνὴν ποιεῖται. ὑπὸ σκότῳ μέντοι, ὡς ἔφην, οὐδὲν ἐργάζε-  
20 ται οὐδὲ ἀξιοῖ λαυθάνειν τι πράττουσα, οὐδὲ ἡγεῖται τι αἰσχρὸν  
ποιεῖν, ὃ ἐν φωτὶ δρώμενον αἰσχυνεῖ αὐτήν.
- Φησὶν δὲ ὁ μῦθος καὶ ἄνθρωπόν τινα Μυῖαν τὸ ἀρχαῖον γενέσθαι  
10 πάννυ καλὴν, λάλον μέντοι γε καὶ στωμύλον καὶ ὠιδικὴν, καὶ  
ἀντερασθῆναί γε τῇ Σελήνῃ τοῦ Ἑνδυμίωνος. εἴτ' ἐπειδὴ κοιμώ-  
25 μενον τὸ μεираκίον συνεχὲς ἐπήγειρεν ἐρεσχηλοῦσα καὶ αἰδουσα  
καὶ κωμάζουσα ἐπ' αὐτόν, τὸν μὲν ἀγανακτῆσαι, τὴν δὲ Σελήνην  
ὀργισθεῖσαν εἰς τοῦτο τὴν Μυῖαν μεταβαλεῖν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πᾶσι  
νῦν τοῖς κοιμωμένοις αὐτὴν τοῦ ὕπνου φθονεῖν μεμνημένην ἔτι τοῦ  
Ἑνδυμίωνος, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς νέοις καὶ ἀπαλοῖς· καὶ τὸ δῆγμα δὲ  
30 αὐτὸ καὶ ἡ τοῦ αἵματος ἐπιθυμία οὐκ ἀγριότητος, ἀλλ' ἔρωτός ἐστι  
σημεῖον καὶ φιλανθρωπίας· ὡς γὰρ δυνατὸν ἀπολαύει καὶ τοῦ κάλ-  
λους τι ἀπανθίζεται.
- Ἐγένετο κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς καὶ γυνὴ τις ὁμώνυμος αὐτῇ, ποιή-  
11 τρια, πάννυ καλὴ καὶ σοφὴ, καὶ ἄλλη ἑταῖρα τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐπιφανής,  
35 περὶ ἧς καὶ ὁ κωμικὸς ποιητὴς ἔφη,

ἡ Μυῖα δ' ἔδακνεν αὐτὸν ἄχρι τῆς καρδίας·

10 τὸν· del. Handley (per litt.)

14 δς E.Schwartz: ὁ M (quo recepto Ὀμηρος del. Russell)

12 αἱ add. E.Schwartz: om. M

οὐχ ἐνὶ M

13 καὶ ἀνθρώποις del. Hercher

36 Μυῖα δ' Meineke: μυῖ' M

16 οὐκ ἐν ἐνὶ Hercher:

οὕτως οὐδὲ ἡ κωμικὴ χάρις ἀπηξίωσεν οὐδὲ ἀπέκλεισε τῆς σκηνῆς  
τὸ τῆς μυίας ὄνομα, οὐδ' οἱ γονεῖς ἠιδοῦντο τὰς θυγατέρας οὕτω  
καλοῦντες. ἡ μὲν γὰρ τραγωιδία καὶ σὺν μεγάλῳ ἐπαίνῳ μέμνηται  
τῆς μυίας, ὥς ἐν τούτοις,

δεινόν γε τὴν μὲν μυῖαν ἀλκίμῳ σθένει  
πηδᾶν ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν σώμαθ', ὥς πλησθῆι φόνου,  
ἄνδρας δ' ὀπλίτας πολέμιον ταρβεῖν δόρυ.

5

πολλὰ δ' ἂν εἶχον εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ Μυίας τῆς Πυθαγορικῆς, εἰ μὴ  
γνώριμος ἦν ἅπασιν ἡ κατ' αὐτὴν ἱστορία.

12 Γίγνονται δὲ καὶ μέγισταί τινες μυῖαι, ὅς στρατιώτιδας οἱ πολλοὶ 10  
καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ κύνας, τραχύταται τὸν βόμβον καὶ τὴν πτῆσιν ὠκύ-  
ταται, αἱ γέ καὶ μακροβιώταταί εἰσιν καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος ὅλου ἄσιτοι  
διακαρτεροῦσιν ὑπεπτηχυῖαι τοῖς ὀρόφοις μάλιστα, ἐφ' ὧν κἀκεῖνο  
θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ὅτι ἀμφότερα, καὶ τὰ θηλειῶν καὶ τὰ ἀρρένων,  
δρῶσιν βαινόμεναι καὶ βαίνοντες ἐν τῷ μέρει κατὰ τὸν Ἑρμοῦ καὶ 15  
Ἀφροδίτης παῖδα τὸν μικτὸν τὴν φύσιν καὶ διττὸν τὸ κάλλος. πολλὰ  
δ' ἔτι ἔχων εἰπεῖν καταπαύσω τὸν λόγον, μὴ καὶ δόξω κατὰ τὴν  
παροιμίαν ἐλέφαντα ἐκ μυίας ποιεῖν.

8 πολλὰ δ' E.Schwartz: πολλὰ M 15 βαινόμεναι add. Russell post E.Schwartz: om. M

## V ΔΙΚΗ ΣΥΜΦΩΝΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΣΙΓΜΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΤΑΥ ΥΠΟ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΠΤΑ ΦΩΝΗΣΙΝ

Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀριστάρχου Φαληρέως, Πυανειῶνος ἐβδόμη 1  
ἵσταμένου, γραφὴν ἔθετο τὸ Σῖγμα πρὸς τὸ Ταῦ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ Φων-  
ηέντων βίας καὶ ὑπαρχόντων ἀρπαγῆς, ἀφηιρῆσθαι λέγον πάντων  
τῶν ἐν διπλῶι ταῦ ἐκφερομένων.

5 Μέχρι μὲν, ὧ Φωνήεντα δικασταί, ὀλίγα ἡδικοῦμην ὑπὸ τουτουί 2  
τοῦ Ταῦ καταχρωμένου τοῖς ἐμοῖς καὶ καταίροντος ἔνθα μὴ δεῖ, οὐ  
βαρέως ἔφερον τὴν βλάβην καὶ παρήκουον ἔνια τῶν λεγομένων ὑπὸ  
τῆς μετριότητος, ἦν ἴστε με φυλάσσοντα πρὸς τε ὑμᾶς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας  
συλλαβάς· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤκει πλεονεξίας τε καὶ ἀνοίας ὥστε ἐφ'  
10 οἷς ἡσύχασα πολλάκις οὐκ ἀγαπῶν, ἤδη καὶ πλείω προσβιάζεται,  
ἀναγκαίως αὐτὸ εὐθύνω νῦν παρὰ τοῖς ἀμφότερα εἰδόσιν ὑμῖν. δέος  
δὲ οὐ μικρόν μοι ἐπὶ τούτοις τῆς ἀποθλίψεως ἐπέρχεται τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ·  
τοῖς γὰρ προπεπραγμένοις αἰεὶ τι μεῖζον προστιθὲν ἄρδην με τῆς  
οἰκείας ἀποθλίψει χώρας, ὥς ὀλίγου δεῖν ἡσυχίαν ἀγαγόντα μηδὲ  
15 ἐν γράμμασιν ἀριθμεῖσθαι, ἐν ἴσῳ δὲ κεῖσθαι τῷ ψόφῳ.

Δίκαιον οὖν οὐχ ὑμᾶς, οἱ δικάζετε νῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ 3  
γράμματα τῆς πείρας ἔχειν τινὰ φυλακὴν· εἰ γὰρ ἐξέσται τοῖς  
βουλομένοις ἀπὸ τῆς καθ' αὐτὰ τάξεως ἐς ἄλλοτρίαν βιάζεσθαι καὶ  
τοῦτο ἐπιτρέψετε ὑμεῖς, ὧν χωρὶς οὐδὲν καθόλου τι γράφεται, οὐχ  
20 ὁρῶ τίνα τρόπον αἱ συντάξεις τὰ νόμιμα, ἐφ' οἷς ἐτάχθη τὰ κατ'  
ἀρχάς, ἔξουσιν. ἀλλ' οὔτε ὑμᾶς οἶμαί ποτε ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀμελείας τε  
καὶ παροράσεως ἦξιν, ὥστε ἐπιτρέψαι τινὰ μὴ δίκαια, οὔτε, εἰ καθ-  
υφήσετε τὸν ἀγῶνα ὑμεῖς, ἐμοὶ παραλειπτέον ἐστὶν ἀδικουμένῳ. 4  
ὥς εἴθε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνεκόπησαν τότε αἱ τόλμαι εὐθύς ἀρξα-  
25 ἔνων παρανομεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐπολέμει μέχρι νῦν τὸ Λάμβδα τῷ Ῥῶ  
διαμφισβητοῦν περὶ τῆς κισήρεως καὶ κεφαλαργίας, οὐδὲ τὸ Γάμμα  
τῷ Κάππα διηγωνίζετο καὶ ἐς χεῖρας μικροῦ δεῖν ἤρχετο πολλάκις ἐν  
τῷ γναφείῳ ὑπὲρ γναφάλλων, ἐπέπαυτο δ' ἂν καὶ πρὸς τὸ Λάμβδα  
μαχόμενον, τὸ μόλις ἀφαιρούμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ μάλιστα παρακλέπ-  
30 τον, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δ' ἂν ἡρέμει συγχύσεως ἄρχεσθαι παρανόμου·  
καλὸν γὰρ ἕκαστον μένειν ἐφ' ἧς τετύχηκε τάξεως· τὸ δὲ ὑπερβαίνειν

3 βίας καὶ Hemsterhuis: βίας M: βιάας Macleod 9 ἀνομίας Lehmann 12 τούτοις  
τῆς Herwerden: τοῖς τῆς m: τοῖς m 15 τῷ ψόφῳ Hemsterhuis: τοῦ φόβου M: τοῦ  
ψόφου ed. Iunt.: τοῖς ψόφοις Lehmann 26 οὐδὲ Lehmann: οὔτε M 29 μάλιστα M:  
μὰ Δία Gronovius

- 5 ἐς ἃ μὴ χρὴ λύνοντός ἐστι τὸ δίκαιον. καὶ ὃ γε πρῶτος ἡμῖν τοὺς νόμους  
τούτους διατυπώσας, εἴτε Κάδμος ὁ νησιώτης εἴτε Παλαμήδης ὁ  
Ναυπλίου, καὶ Σιμωνίδης δὲ ἔνιοι προσάπτουσι τὴν προμήθειαν  
ταύτην οὐ τῇ τάξει μόνον, καθ' ἣν αἱ προεδρίαι βεβαιούνται,  
διώρισαν, τί πρῶτον ἔσται ἢ δεύτερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιότητος, ὅς  
ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἔχει, καὶ δυνάμεις συνείδον. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν, ὧ δικασ-  
ταί, τὴν μείζω δεδῶκασιν ἱμῆν, ὅτι καθ' αὐτὰ δύνασθε φθέγγεσθαι,  
ἡμιφώνοις δὲ τὴν ἐφεξῆς, ὅτι προσθήκης εἰς τὸ ἀκουσθῆναι δεῖται  
πασῶν δὲ ἐσχάτην ἐνόμισαν ἔχειν μοῖραν ἐννέα τῶν πάντων, οἷς  
οὐδὲ φωνὴ πρόσσεστι καθ' αὐτά. τὰ μὲν οὖν φωνήεντα φυλάσσειν  
ἔοικε τοὺς νόμους τούτους.
- 6 Τὸ δὲ γε Ταῦ τοῦτο, οὐ γὰρ ἔχω χεῖρονι αὐτὸ ὀνομάσαι ῥήματι ἢ  
ῶι καλεῖται, ὃ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, εἰ μὴ ἐξ ὑμῶν δύο συνῆλθον ἀγαθοὶ καὶ  
καθήκοντες ὁραθῆναι, τό τε Ἄλφα καὶ τὸ Ὑ, οὐκ ἂν ἠκούσθη μόνον,  
τοῦτο τοῖνυν ἐτόλμησεν ἄδικεῖν με πλείω τῶν πώποτε βιασαμένων,  
ὀνομάτων μὲν καὶ ῥημάτων ἀπελάσαν πατρώϊων, ἐκδιῶξαν δὲ  
δομῶν συνδέσμων ἅμα καὶ προθέσεων, ὡς μηκέτι φέρειν τὴν ἔκτοπον  
πλεονεξίαν. ὅθεν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τίνων ἀρξάμενον, ὥρα λέγειν.
- 7 Ἐπεδήμουν ποτὲ Κυβέλωι τὸ δὲ ἐστὶ πολίχνιον οὐκ ἀηδὲς,  
ἄποικον, ὡς ἐπέχει λόγος, Ἀθηναίων – ἐπηγόμην δὲ καὶ τὸ κράτισ-  
τον Ῥῶ, γειτόνων τὸ βέλτιστον· κατηγομένη δὲ παρὰ κωμωιδῶν  
τινὶ ποιητῇ· Λυσίμαχος ἐκαλεῖτο, Βοιώτιος μὲν, ὡς ἐφαίνετο, τὸ  
γένος ἀνέκαθεν, ἀπὸ μέσης δὲ ἀξιοῦντι λέγεσθαι τῆς Ἀττικῆς· παρὰ  
τούτῳι δὴ τῷ ξένῳ τὴν τοῦ Ταῦ τούτου πλεονεξίαν ἐφώρσα·  
μέχρι μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγοις ἐπεχείρει τέτταρα κατατολμῶν καὶ τετ-  
ταράκοντα λέγειν, ἔτι δὲ τήμερον καὶ τὰ ὅμοια ἐπισπώμενον ἴδια  
ταυτὶ λέγειν, ἀποστεροῦν με τῶν συγγεγεννημένων μοι, συνήθειαν  
ῶιμην συντετραμμένων γραμμάτων καὶ οἰστὸν ἦν μοι τὸ ἄκουσμα
- 8 καὶ οὐ πάννυ τι ἐδακνόμην ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. ὁπότε δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἀρξά-  
μενον ἐτόλμησε καττίτερον εἰπεῖν καὶ κάττυμα καὶ πίτταν, εἴτα ἀπε-  
ρυθρίασαν καὶ βασίλισσαν βασιλίτταν ὀνομάζειν, οὐ μετρίως ἐπὶ  
τούτοις ἀγανακτῶ καὶ πίμπραμαι δεδιὸς μὴ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τὰ σῦκα  
τῦκά τις ὀνομάσῃ. καὶ μοι πρὸς Διὸς ἀθυμοῦντι καὶ μεμονωμένῳ  
τῶν βοηθησόντων σύγγνωτε τῆς δικαίας ὀργῆς· οὐ γὰρ περὶ μικρά  
καὶ τὰ τυχόντα ἐστὶν ὁ κίνδυνος, ἀφαιρουμένῳ τῶν συνήθων καὶ  
συνεσχολακότῳ μοι γραμμάτων. κίσσαν μου, λάλον ὄρνεον, ἐκ

9 ἐννέα ed. Aldina<sup>2</sup>: ἔνια M 10 καθ' αὐτά: τὰ μὲν οὖν Du Soul: · καθ' αὐτὰ μὲν οὖν  
τὰ M 16 ἀπελάσαν . . . ἐκδιῶξαν Hemsterhuis: -σαι . . . -ξαι M 25 τέτταρα  
κατατολμῶν καὶ add., ex scholiis post Halm, Harmon 26 λέγον m 31 βασίλισσαν  
inser. K. Schwartz: om. M

- μέσων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν τῶν κόλπων ἀρπάσαν κίτταν ὀνόμασεν·  
ἀφείλετο δὲ μου καὶ φάσσαν ἅμα νήσσαις τε καὶ κοσσύφοις  
ἀπαγορεύοντος Ἀριστάρχου· περιέσπασε δὲ καὶ μελισσῶν οὐκ  
ὀλίγας· ἐπ' Ἀττικὴν δὲ ἦλθεν καὶ ἐκ μέσης αὐτῆς ἀνῆρπασεν ἀνόμως
- 9 ὕμνησόν ὁρώντων ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συλλαβῶν. ἀλλὰ τί λέγω  
ταῦτα; Θεσσαλίας με ἐξέβαλεν ὅλης Θετταλίας ἀξιοῦν λέγειν, καὶ  
πᾶσαν ἀποκέκλεικέ μοι τὴν θάλασσαν οὐδὲ τῶν ἐν κήποις φεισάμενον  
σευτλίῳ, ὡς τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον μηδὲ πᾶσσαλόν μοι καταλιπεῖν.
- Ὅτι δὲ ἀνεξίκακόν εἰμι γράμμα, μαρτυρεῖτέ μοι καὶ αὐτοὶ  
μηδέποτε ἐγκαλέσαντι τῷ Ζῆτα σμάραγδον ἀποσπᾶσαντι καὶ  
πᾶσαν ἀφελόμενῳ Σμύρναν, μηδὲ τῷ Ξὶ πᾶσαν παραβάντι συν-  
θήκην καὶ τὸν συγγραφέα τῶν τοιούτων ἔχοντι Θουκυδίδην σύμ-  
μαχον· τῷ μὲν γὰρ γείτονί μου Ῥῶ νοσήσαντι συγγνώμη, καὶ  
παρ' αὐτῷ φυτεύσαντί μου τὰς μυρσίνας καὶ παῖσαντί μέ ποτε  
ὑπὸ μελαγχολίας ἐπὶ κόρσης. καὶ γὰρ τοιοῦτον. τὸ δὲ Ταῦ  
τοῦτο σκοπῶμεν ὡς φύσει βίαιον καὶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπά. ὅτι δὲ  
οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέσχετο γραμμάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Δέλτα καὶ  
τὸ Θῆτα καὶ τὸ Ζῆτα καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν πάντα ἠδίκησε τὰ στοι-  
χεῖα, αὐτὰ μοι κάλει τὰ ἀδικηθέντα γράμματα. ἀκούετε, Φωνήεντα  
δικασταί, τοῦ μὲν Δέλτα λέγοντος· Ἀφείλετό μοι τὴν ἐνδελέχειαν,  
ἐντελέχειαν ἀξιοῦν λέγεσθαι παρὰ πάντας τοὺς νόμους· τοῦ Θῆτα  
δακρύοντος καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰς τρίχας τίλλοντος ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ τῆς  
κολοκύνθης ἐστερηθῆσαι· τοῦ Ζῆτα τὸ συρίζειν καὶ σαλπίζειν, ὡς  
μηκέτ' αὐτῷ ἐξεῖναι μηδὲ γρύζειν. τίς ἂν τούτων ἀνάσχοιτο; ἢ τίς  
ἐξαρκέσειε δίκη πρὸς τὸ πονηρότατον τουτὶ Ταῦ;
- Τὸ δὲ ἄρα οὐ τὸ ὁμόφυλον τῶν στοιχείων μόνον ἀδικεῖ γένος,  
ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπειον μεταβέβηκε τουτονὶ τὸν τρόπον·  
οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπει γε αὐτοῖς κατ' εὐθὺ φέρεσθαι ταῖς γλώσσαις·  
μᾶλλον δὲ, ὧ δικασταί, μεταξὺ γὰρ με πάλιν τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
πράγματα ἀνέμνησε περὶ τῆς γλώσσης, ὅτι καὶ ταύτης με τὸ μέρος  
ἀπῆλασεν καὶ γλώτταν ποιεῖ τὴν γλώσσαν. ὧ γλώσσης ἀληθῶς  
νόσημα Ταῦ. ἀλλὰ μεταβήσομαι πάλιν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνο καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις  
συναγορεύσω ὑπὲρ ὧν εἰς αὐτοὺς πλημμελεῖ· δεσμοῖς γὰρ τισὶ στρε-  
βλοῦν καὶ σπαράττειν αὐτῶν τὴν φωνὴν ἐπιχειρεῖ. καὶ ὁ μὲν τι καλὸν  
ἰδὼν καλὸν εἰπεῖν αὐτὸ βούλεται, τὸ δὲ παρεισπεσὸν τάλον εἰπεῖν  
αὐτοὺς ἀναγκάζει ἐν ἅπασιν, προεδρίαν ἔχειν ἀξιοῦν· πάλιν ἕτερος

9 ὕμνησόν Herwerden: -ττόν M 11 μηδὲ Lehmann: μήτε M 23 δακρύοντος  
K. Schwartz: κρούοντος M 36 τάλαν m εἰπεῖν del. Nilén

περὶ κλήματος διαλέγεται, τὸ δὲ τλήμον γάρ ἐστιν ἀληθῶς – τλήμα πεποίηκε τὸ κλήμα. καὶ οὐ μόνον γε τοὺς τυχόντας ἀδικεῖ, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ, ὧι καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν εἷξαι φασὶ καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν φύσεως ἐκστῆναι, τὸ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ἐπιβουλεύει καὶ Κῦρον αὐτὸν ὄντα Τῦρόν τινα ἀπέφηνεν.

12 Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὅσον ἐς φωνὴν ἀνθρώπους ἀδικεῖ· ἔργῳ δὲ πῶς; κλάουσιν ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν τύχην ὀδύρονται καὶ Κάδμῳ καταρῶνται πολλάκις, ὅτι τὸ Ταῦ ἐς τὸ τῶν στοιχείων γένος παρήγαγε· τῷ γὰρ τούτου σώματί φασὶ τοὺς τυράννους ἀκολουθήσαντας καὶ μιμησαμένους αὐτοῦ τὸ πλάσμα ἔπειτα σχήματι τοιοῦτοι 10 ξύλα τεκτῆναντας ἀνθρώπους ἀνασκολοπίζειν ἐπ' αὐτά· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου καὶ τῷ τεχνήματι τῷ πονηρῷ τὴν πονηρὰν ἐπωνυμίαν συνελθεῖν.

Τούτων οὖν ἀπάντων ἕνεκα πόσων θανάτων τὸ Ταῦ ἄξιον εἶναι νομίζετε; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι δικαίως τοῦτο μόνον ἐς τὴν τοῦ Ταῦ 15 τιμωρίαν ὑπολείπεσθαι, τὸ τῷ σχήματι τῷ αὐτοῦ τὴν δίκην ὑποσχεῖν, ὃ δὴ σταυρὸς εἶναι ἀπὸ τούτου ἐδημιουργήθη, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπων ὀνομάζεται.

9 σώματι M: σήματι Guyet: σχήματι Jacobitz  
ὑπὸ M

11 δὲ Harmon: δὴ M

17 ἀπὸ Mehler:

## VI ΤΙΜΩΝ Η ΜΙΣΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ

Ὡ Ζεῦ φίλιε καὶ ξένιε καὶ ἑταιρεῖε καὶ ἐφέστιε καὶ ἀστεροπητὰ καὶ 1 ὄρκιε καὶ νεφεληγερέτα καὶ ἐρίγδουπε καὶ εἴ τί σε ἄλλο οἱ ἐμβρόντητοι ποιηταὶ καλοῦσι – καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ἀπορῶσι πρὸς τὰ μέτρα· τότε γὰρ αὐτοῖς πολυώνυμος γενόμενος ὑπερείδεις τὸ πίπτον τοῦ 5 μέτρου καὶ ἀναπληροῖς τὸ κεκηνὸς τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ – ποῦ σοι νῦν ἡ ἐρισμάραγος ἀστραπή καὶ ἡ βαρύβρομος βροντὴ καὶ ὁ αἰθαλόεις καὶ ἀργήεις καὶ σμερδαλέος κεραυνός; ἅπαντα γὰρ ταῦτα λήρος ἤδη ἀναπέφηνε καὶ καπνὸς ἀτεχνῶς ποιητικὸς ἔξω τοῦ πατάγου τῶν ὀνομάτων. τὸ δὲ αἰοιδιμὸν σοὶ καὶ ἐκηβόλον ὄπλον καὶ πρόχειρον 10 οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τελέως ἀπέσβη καὶ ψυχρὸν ἐστὶ, μηδὲ ὀλίγον σπινθήρα ὀργῆς κατὰ τῶν ἀδικούντων διαφυλάττον. θᾶττον γοῦν τῶν ἐπιорκεῖν τις ἐπιχειρούντων ἔωλον θρυαλλίδα φοβηθεῖν ἂν ἢ τὴν τοῦ πανδαμάτορος κεραυνοῦ φλόγα· οὕτω δαλὸν τινα ἐπανατείνεσθαι δοκεῖς αὐτοῖς, ὥς πῦρ μὲν ἢ καπνὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μὴ δεδιέναι, μόνον 15 δὲ τοῦτο οἶεσθαι ἀπολαύειν τοῦ τραύματος, ὅτι ἀναπλησθήσονται τῆς ἀσβόλου.

Ὡστε ἤδη διὰ ταῦτά σοι καὶ ὁ Σαλμωνεὺς ἀντιβροντᾶν ἐτόλμα, οὐ πάντῃ ἀπίθανος ὢν, πρὸς οὕτω ψυχρὸν τὴν ὀργὴν Δία θερμοουργὸς ἀνὴρ μεγαλαυχούμενος. πῶς γὰρ οὐ, ὅπου γε καθάπερ ὑπὸ μαν- 20 δραγόραι καθέδεις, ὅς οὔτε τῶν ἐπιорκούντων ἀκούεις οὔτε τοὺς ἀδικούντας ἐπισκοπεῖς, λημᾶις δὲ καὶ ἀμβλυώττεις πρὸς τὰ γινόμενα καὶ τὰ ὧτα ἐκκεκώφησαι καθάπερ οἱ παρηβηκότες; ἐπεὶ νέος γε ἔτι 3 καὶ ὀξύθυμος ὢν καὶ ἀκμαῖος τὴν ὀργὴν πολλὰ κατὰ τῶν ἀδίκων καὶ βιαίων ἐποίεις καὶ οὐδέποτε ἦγες τότε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκεχειρίαν, 25 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ἐνεργὸς πάντως ὁ κεραυνὸς ἦν καὶ ἡ αἰγὶς ἐπεσεῖετο καὶ ἡ βροντὴ ἐπαταγεῖτο καὶ ἡ ἀστραπή συνεχὲς ὥσπερ εἰς ἀκροβολισμόν προηκοντίζετο· οἱ σεισμοὶ δὲ κοσκινηδὸν καὶ ἡ χιὼν σωρηδὸν καὶ ἡ χάλαζα πετρηδὸν, ἴνα σοι φορτικῶς διαλέγωμαι, ὑετοὶ τε ῥαγδαῖοι καὶ βίαιοι, ποταμὸς ἐκάστη σταγὼν· ὥστε τηλικαύτῃ ἐν ἀκαρεῖ χρό- 30 νου ναυαγία ἐπὶ τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος ἐγένετο, ὥς ὑποβρυχίων ἀπάντων καταδεδυκότων μόγις ἐν τι κιβώτιον περισωθῆναι προσοκείλαν τῷ Λυκωρεῖ ζώπυρόν τι τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου σπέρματος διαφυλάττον εἰς ἐπιγονὴν κακίας μείζονος.

19 πῶς γὰρ οὐ Du Soul: πῶς γὰρ M

4 Τοιγάρτοι ἀκόλουθα τῆς ῥαιθυμίας τὰπίχειρα κομίζηι παρ' αὐτῶν, οὔτε θύοντος ἔτι σοί τινος οὔτε στεφανοῦντος, εἰ μή τις ἄρα πάρεργον Ὀλυμπίων, καὶ οὗτος οὐ πᾶν ἀναγκαῖα ποιεῖν δοκῶν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἔθος τι ἀρχαῖον συντελῶν· καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον Κρόνον σε, ὦ θεῶν γενναιότατε, ἀποφαίνουσι, παρῳσάμενοι τῆς τιμῆς. ἔω 5 λέγειν ποσάκις ἤδη σου τὸν νεῶν σεσυλήκασιν· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶι σοὶ τὰς χεῖρας Ὀλυμπίασιν ἐπιβεβλήκασι, καὶ σὺ ὁ ὑψιβρεμέτης ὠκνησας ἢ ἀναστῆσαι τοὺς κύνας ἢ τοὺς γείτονας ἐπικαλέσασθαι, ὥς βοηδρομήσαντες αὐτοὺς συλλάβοιεν ἔτι συσκευαζομένους πρὸς τὴν φυγὴν· ἀλλ' ὁ γενναῖος καὶ Γιγαντολέτωρ καὶ Τιτανοκράτωρ 10 ἐκάθησο τοὺς πλοκάμους περικειρόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, δεκάπηχυν κερ- αυνὸν ἔχων ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ.

Ταῦτα τοῖνυν, ὦ θαυμάσιε, πηνίκα παύσεται οὕτως ἀμελῶς παρορώμενα; ἢ πότε κολάσεις τὴν τοσαύτην ἀδικίαν; πόσοι Φαέθον- 15 τες ἢ Δευκαλίωνες ἱκανοὶ πρὸς οὕτως ὑπέραντλον ὕβριν τοῦ βίου; ἴνα 5 γὰρ τὰ κοινὰ ἔασας τὰμὰ εἶπω, τοσοῦτους Ἀθηναίων εἰς ὕψος ἄρας καὶ πλουσίους ἐκ πενεστάτων ἀποφῆνας καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπικουρήσας, μᾶλλον δὲ ἄθροον εἰς εὐεργεσίαν τῶν φίλων ἐκχέας τὸν πλοῦτον, ἐπειδὴ πένης διὰ ταῦτα ἐγενόμην, οὐκέτι οὐδὲ γνωρίζομαι πρὸς αὐτῶν οὐδὲ προσβλέπουσιν οἱ τέως ὑποπτῆσοντες 20 καὶ προσκυνοῦντες κἂκ τοῦ ἑμοῦ νεύματος ἀνηρτημένοι, ἀλλ' ἦν που καὶ ὁδῶι βαδίζων ἐντύχω τινὶ αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ τινὰ στήλην παλαιοῦ νεκροῦ ὑπτίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου ἀνατετραμμένην παρέρχονται μηδὲ ἀναγνόντες. οἱ δὲ καὶ πόρρωθεν ἰδόντες ἐτέραν ἐκτρέπονται δυσάν- 25 τητον καὶ ἀποτρόπαιον θέαμα ὄψεσθαι ὑπολαμβάνοντες τὸν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην αὐτῶν γεγεννημένον. ὥστε ὑπὸ τῶν 6 κακῶν ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐσχατιὰν τραπόμενος ἐναψάμενος διφθέραν ἐργάζομαι τὴν γῆν ὑπόμισθος ὀβολῶν τεσσάρων, τῇ ἔρημίαι καὶ τῇ δικέλλῃ προσφιλοσοφῶν. ἐνταῦθα τοῦτο γοῦν μοι δοκῶ κερ- 30 δανεῖν, μηκέτι ὄψεσθαι πολλοὺς παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν εὖ πράττοντας· ἀνιαιρότερον γὰρ τοῦτο γε.

Ἦδη ποτὲ οὖν, ὦ Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας υἱέ, τὸν βαθὺν τοῦτον ὕπνον ἀποσεισάμενος καὶ νήδυμον ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἐπιμενίδην γὰρ κεκοίμησαι — καὶ ἀναρριπίσας τὸν κεραυνὸν ἢ ἐκ τῆς Αἴτνης ἐναυσάμενος μεγάλην ποιήσας τὴν φλόγα ἐπιδείξαιό τινα χολὴν ἀνδρώδους καὶ νεανικοῦ 35 Διός, εἰ μὴ ἀληθὴ ἔστι τὰ ὑπὸ Κρητῶν περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖ ταφῆς μυθολογούμενα.

## ΖΕΥΣ

Τίς οὗτός ἐστιν, ὦ Ἑρμῇ, ὁ κεκραγὼς ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς παρὰ τὸν 7 Ὑμηττὸν ἐν τῇ ὑπωρείαι πιναρὸς ὅλος καὶ αὐχμῶν καὶ ὑποδίφθερος; σκάπτει δὲ οἶμαι ἐπικεκυφῶς· λάλος ἄνθρωπος καὶ θρασύς. ἢ που φιλόσοφός ἐστιν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ἀσεβεῖς τοὺς λόγους διεξήκει καθ' 5 ἡμῶν.

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

Τί φῆις, ὦ πάτερ; ἀγνοεῖς Τίμωνα τὸν Ἐχεκρατίδου τὸν Κολλυτέα; οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πολλάκις ἡμᾶς καθ' ἱερῶν τελείων ἐστιάσας, ὁ νεό- πλουτος, ὁ τὰς ὅλας ἐκατόμβας, παρ' ὧι λαμπρῶς ἐορτάζειν εἰώθα- 5 μεν τὰ Διάσια.

## ΖΕΥΣ

10 Φεῦ τῆς ἀλλαγῆς· ὁ καλὸς ἐκεῖνος, ὁ πλούσιος, περὶ δὲ οἱ τοσοῦτοι φίλοι; τί παθὼν οὖν τοιοῦτός ἐστιν, αὐχμηρός, ἄθλιος, καὶ σκαπανεὺς καὶ μισθωτός, ὥς ἔοικεν, οὕτω βαρεῖαν καταφέρων τὴν δίκηλλαν;

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

Οὕτωςί μὲν εἰπεῖν, χρηστότης ἐπέτριπεν αὐτὸν καὶ φιланθρωπία καὶ 8 ὁ πρὸς τοὺς δεομένους ἅπαντας οἶκτος, ὥς δὲ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ, ἄνοια καὶ 15 εὐήθεια καὶ ἀκρισία περὶ τῶν φίλων, ὅς οὐ συνίει κόραξι καὶ λύκοις χαριζόμενος, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γυπῶν τοσοῦτων ὁ κακοδαίμων κειρόμενος τὸ ἦπαρ φίλους εἶναι αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐταίρους ὤιετο, ὑπ' εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν χαίροντας τῇ βορᾷ· οἱ δὲ τὰ ὁστ' ἀ γυμνώσαντες ἀκριβῶς καὶ περιτραγόντες, εἰ δὲ τις καὶ μυελὸς ἐνῆν, ἐκμυζήσαντες καὶ τοῦτον εὖ 20 μάλα ἐπιμελῶς, ὠιχοντο αὖτον αὐτὸν καὶ τὰς ῥίζας ὑποτετμημένον ἀπολιπόντες, οὐδὲ γνωρίζοντες ἔτι ἢ προσβλέποντες — πόθεν γάρ; ἢ ἐπικουροῦντες ἢ ἐπιδιδόντες ἐν τῷ μέρει. διὰ ταῦτα δικελλίτης καὶ διφθερίας, ὥς ὀραῖς, ἀπολιπὼν ὑπ' αἰσχύνῃς τὸ ἄστυ μισθοῦ γεωργεῖ μελαγχολῶν τοῖς κακοῖς, ὅτι οἱ πλουτοῦντες παρ' αὐτοῦ 25 μάλα ὑπεροπτικῶς παρέρχονται οὐδὲ τοῦνομα, εἰ Τίμων καλοῖτο, εἰδότες.

## ΖΕΥΣ

- 9 Καὶ μὴν οὐ παροπτέος ἀνὴρ οὐδὲ ἀμελητέος· εἰκότως γὰρ ἡγανάκ-  
 τει δυστυχῶν· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὅμοια ποιήσομεν τοῖς καταράτοις κόλαξιν  
 ἐκείνοις ἐπιλελησμένοι ἀνδρὸς τοσαῦτα μηρία ταύρων τε καὶ αἰγῶν  
 πιότατα καύσαντος ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν· ἔτι γοῦν ἐν ταῖς ῥίσι τὴν  
 κνῖσαν αὐτῶν ἔχω. πλὴν ὑπ' ἀσχολίας τε καὶ θορύβου πολλοῦ τῶν  
 ἐπιπορκούντων καὶ βιαζομένων καὶ ἀρπαζόντων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ φόβου  
 τοῦ παρὰ τῶν ἱεροσυλούντων· πολλοὶ γὰρ οὗτοι καὶ δυσφύλακ-  
 τοι καὶ οὐδὲ ὀλίγον καταμύσαι ἡμῖν ἐφιδάσι – πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον  
 οὐδὲ ἀπέβλεψα ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐξ οὗ φιλοσοφία καὶ  
 λόγων ἐριδὲς ἐπεπόλασαν αὐτοῖς· μαχομένων γὰρ πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
 καὶ κεκραγόντων οὐδὲ ἐπακούειν ἔστι τῶν εὐχῶν· ὥστε ἡ ἐπιβυσά-  
 μενον χρή τὰ ὧτα καθῆσθαι ἢ ἐπιτριβῆναι πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἀρετὴν τινα  
 καὶ ἀσώματα καὶ λήρους μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ συνειρόντων. διὰ ταῦτά  
 τοι καὶ τοῦτον ἀμεληθῆναι συνέβη πρὸς ἡμῶν οὐ φαῦλον ὄντα.
- 10 Ὅμως δὲ τὸν Πλοῦτον, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, παραλαβὼν ἄπιθι παρ' αὐτὸν  
 κατὰ τάχος· ἀγέτω δὲ ὁ Πλοῦτος καὶ τὸν Θησαυρὸν μεθ' αὐτοῦ καὶ  
 μενέτωσαν ἄμφω παρὰ τῷ Τίμωνι μηδὲ ἀπαλλαττέσθωσαν οὕτω  
 ῥαϊδίως, κἄν ὅτι μάλιστα ὑπὸ χρηστότητος αὐθις ἐκδιώκηι αὐτοῦς  
 τῆς οἰκίας, περὶ δὲ τῶν κολάκων ἐκείνων καὶ τῆς ἀχαριστίας ἦν  
 ἐπεδείξαντο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ αὐθις μὲν σκέψομαι καὶ δίκην δώσουσιν,  
 ἐπειδὰν τὸν κεραυνὸν ἐπισκευάσω· κατεαγμένοι γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ  
 ἀπεστομωμένοι εἰσὶ δύο ἄκτινες αἱ μέγιστα, ὅποτε φιλοτιμότερον  
 ἡκόντισα πρῶτην ἐπὶ τὸν σοφιστὴν Ἀναξαγόραν, ὃς ἔπειθε τοὺς  
 ὁμιλητὰς μηδὲ ὅλως εἶναι τινὰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς θεοὺς. ἀλλ' ἐκείνου μὲν διή-  
 μαρτον – ὑπέρεσχε γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὴν χεῖρα Περικλῆς – ὁ δὲ κεραυνὸς  
 εἰς τὸ Ἀνακείον παρασκήψας ἐκεῖνό τε κατέφλεξε καὶ αὐτὸς ὀλίγου  
 δεῖν συνετρίβη περὶ τῇ πέτραι. πλὴν ἱκανὴ ἐν τοσούτῳ καὶ αὕτη  
 τιμωρία ἔσται αὐτοῖς, ὑπερπλουτοῦντα τὸν Τίμωνα ὀρώσιν.

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

- 11 Οἷον ἦν τὸ μέγα κεκραγῆναι καὶ ὀχληρὸν εἶναι καὶ θρασύν. οὐ τοῖς  
 δικαιολογοῦσι μόνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς εὐχομένοις τοῦτο χρήσιμον·  
 ἰδοὺ γέ τοι αὐτίκα μάλα πλούσιος ἐκ πενεστάτου καταστήσεται ὁ  
 Τίμων βοήσας καὶ παρρησιασάμενος ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ καὶ ἐπιστρέψας τὸν  
 Δία· εἰ δὲ σιωπῇ ἔσκαπτεν ἐπικεκυφώς, ἔτι ἂν ἔσκαπτεν ἀμελούμενος.

## ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ

Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἂν ἀπέλθοιμι, ὦ Ζεῦ, παρ' αὐτόν.

## ΖΕΥΣ

Διὰ τί, ὦ ἄριστε Πλοῦτε, καὶ ταῦτα ἐμοῦ κελεύσαντος;

## ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ

- Ὅτι νῆ Δία ὕβριζεν εἰς ἐμέ καὶ ἐξεφόρει καὶ ἐς πολλὰ κατεμέριζε, καὶ  
 ταῦτα πατρῷον αὐτῷ φίλον ὄντα, καὶ μονονουχὶ δικράνοισι  
 ἐξεώθει με τῆς οἰκίας καθάπερ οἱ τὸ πῦρ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἀπο-  
 ρριπτοῦντες. αὐθις οὖν ἀπέλθω παρασίτοις καὶ κόλαξι καὶ ἐταίραις  
 παραδοθησόμενος; ἐπ' ἐκείνους, ὦ Ζεῦ, πέμπε με τοὺς ἡσθησομένους  
 τῇ δωρεᾷ, τοὺς περιέψοντας, οἷς τίμιος ἐγὼ καὶ περιπόθητος·  
 οὗτοι δὲ οἱ λάροι τῇ Πενίαι συνέστωσαν, ἦν προτιμῶσιν ἡμῶν,  
 καὶ διφθέραν παρ' αὐτῆς λαβόντες καὶ δίκελλαν ἀγαπάττωσαν ἄθλιοι  
 τέτταρας ὀβολοὺς ἀποφέροντες, οἱ δεκαταλάντους δωρεὰς ἀμελητὶ  
 προῖέμενοι.

## ΖΕΥΣ

- Οὐδὲν ἔτι τοιοῦτον ὁ Τίμων ἐργάσεται περὶ σέ· πάνυ γὰρ αὐτόν  
 ἡ δίκελλα πεπαιδαγωγῆκεν, εἰ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀνάληγτός ἐστι  
 τὴν ὀσφύν, ὥς χρῆν σέ ἀντὶ τῆς πενίας προαιρεῖσθαι. σὺ μὲν-  
 τοι πάνυ μεμψίμοιρος εἶναι μοι δοκεῖς, ὃς νῦν μὲν τὸν Τίμωνα  
 αἰτιᾷ, διότι σοι τὰς θύρας ἀναπετάσας ἡφίει περινοστεῖν ἐλευθέρως  
 οὔτε ἀποκλείων οὔτε ζηλοτυπῶν· ἄλλοτε δὲ τοῦναντίον ἡγανάκ-  
 τεις κατὰ τῶν πλουσίων κατακεκλεισθαι λέγων πρὸς αὐτῶν ὑπὸ  
 μοχλοῖς καὶ κλεισὶ καὶ σημείων ἐπιβολαῖς, ὥς μηδὲ παρακύψαι  
 σοι ἐς τὸ φῶς δυνατὸν εἶναι. ταῦτα γοῦν ἀπωδύρου πρὸς με,  
 ἀποπνίγεσθαι λέγων ἐν πολλῷ τῷ σκότῳ· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὡχρὸς  
 ἡμῖν ἐφαίνου καὶ φροντίδος ἀνάπλεως, συνεσπακῶς τοὺς δακτύλους  
 πρὸς τὸ ἔθος τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ ἀποδράσεσθαι ἀπειλῶν, εἰ καιροῦ  
 λάβοιο, παρ' αὐτῶν· καὶ ὅλως τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπέρδεινον ἐδόκει σοι, ἐν  
 χαλκῷ ἢ σιδηρῷ τῷ θαλάμῳ καθάπερ τὴν Δανάην παρθενεύεσθαι  
 ὑπ' ἀκριβέσι καὶ παμπονήροις παιδαγωγοῖς ἀνατρεφόμενον, τῷ



14 Τόκῳ καὶ τῷ Λογισμῷ. ἄτοπα γοῦν ποιεῖν ἔφασκες αὐτοὺς ἐρῶν-  
 τας μὲν εἰς ὑπερβολήν, ἐξὸν δὲ ἀπολαύειν οὐ τολμῶντας, οὐδὲ ἐπ’  
 ἀδείας χρωμένους τῷ ἔρωτι κυρίους γε ὄντας, ἀλλὰ φυλάττειν  
 ἐγρηγορότας, ἐς τὸ σημεῖον καὶ τὸν μοχλὸν ἀσκαρδαμυκτὶ βλέπον-  
 τας, ἱκανὴν ἀπόλαυσιν οἰομένους οὐ τὸ αὐτοὺς ἀπολαύειν ἔχειν, 5  
 ἀλλὰ τὸ μηδενὶ μεταδιδόναι τῆς ἀπολάυσεως, καθάπερ τὴν ἐν τῇ  
 φάτνῃ κύνᾳ μήτε αὐτὴν ἐσθίουσαν τῶν κριθῶν μήτε τῷ ἵππῳ  
 πεινῶντι ἐπιτρέπουσαν. καὶ προσέτι γε καὶ κατεγέλας αὐτῶν φει-  
 δομένων καὶ φυλαττόντων καὶ τὸ καινότατον αὐτοὺς ζηλοτυπούν-  
 των, ἀγνοούντων δὲ ὡς κατάρατος οἰκέτης ἢ οἰκονόμος πεδότηρι 10  
 ὑπείσιον λαθραίως ἐμπαροινήσει, τὸν κακοδαίμονα καὶ ἀνέραςτον  
 δεσπότην πρὸς ἀμαυρόν τι καὶ μικρόστομον λυχνίδιον καὶ διψαλέον  
 θρυαλλίδιον ἐπαγρυπνεῖν ἑάσας τοῖς τόκοις. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἄδικα  
 ταῦτά σου, πάλαι μὲν ἐκεῖνα αἰτιᾶσθαι, νῦν δὲ τῷ Τίμῳ τὰ ἐναντία  
 ἐπικαλεῖν;

15

## ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ

15 Καὶ μὴν εἴ γε τάληθές ἐξετάζοις, ἄμφω σοι εὐλόγα δόξω ποιεῖν· τοῦ  
 τε γὰρ Τίμωνος τὸ πᾶν τοῦτο ἀνειμένον ἀμελές καὶ οὐκ εὐνοϊκὸν ὡς  
 πρὸς ἐμὲ εἰκότως ἂν δοκοίη· τοὺς τε αὖ κατάκλειστον ἐν θύραις καὶ  
 σκότῳ φυλάττοντας, ὅπως αὐτοῖς παχύτερος γενοίμην καὶ πιμελὴς  
 καὶ ὑπέρογκος ἐπιμελουμένους, οὔτε προσαπτομένους αὐτοὺς οὔτε 20  
 ἐς τὸ φῶς προάγοντας, ὡς μηδὲ ὀφθεῖν πρὸς τινος, ἀνοήτους ἐνόμι-  
 ζον εἶναι καὶ ὑβριστάς, οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντά με ὑπὸ τοσούτοις δεσμοῖς  
 κατασῆποντας, οὐκ εἰδότας ὡς μετὰ μικρὸν ἀπίασιν ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν  
 εὐδαιμόνων με καταλιπόντες. οὐτ’ οὖν ἐκείνους οὔτε τοὺς πᾶν προ-  
 16 χείρους εἰς ἐμὲ τούτους ἐπαινῶ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς, ὅπερ ἄριστόν ἐστι, μέτρον 25  
 ἐπιθήσοντας τῷ πράγματι καὶ μήτε ἀφεξομένους τὸ παράπαν μήτε  
 προησομένους τὸ ὅλον.

Σκόπει γάρ, ὦ Ζεῦ, πρὸς τοῦ Διός. εἴ τις νόμῳ γήμας γυναῖκα  
 νέαν καὶ καλὴν ἐπειτα μήτε φυλάττοι μήτε ζηλοτυποῖ τὸ παράπαν,  
 ἀφιεῖς καὶ βαδίζειν ἔνθα θέλοι νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ συνεί- 30  
 ναι τοῖς βουλομένοις, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸς ἀπάγοι μοιχευθησομένην  
 ἀνοίγων τὰς θύρας καὶ μαστροπεύων καὶ πάντας ἐπ’ αὐτὴν καλῶν,  
 ἄρα ὁ τοιοῦτος ἔρᾳ δόξειεν ἄν; οὐ σύ γε, ὦ Ζεῦ, τοῦτο φαίης  
 17 ἄν, ἐρασθεὶς πολλάκις. εἰ δὲ τις ἔμπαλιν ἐλευθέραν γυναῖκα εἰς τὴν  
 οἰκίαν νόμῳ παραλαβὼν ἐπ’ ἄρότῳ παίδων γνησίῳ, ὁ δὲ μήτε 35

18 θύρας M: θήκαις Brodaeus

αὐτὸς προσάπτοιο ἀκμαίας καὶ καλῆς παρθένου μήτε ἄλλῳ προσ-  
 βλέπειν ἐπιτρέποι, ἄγονον δὲ καὶ στείραν κατακλείσας παρθενεύοι,  
 καὶ ταῦτα ἔρᾳ φάσκων καὶ δῆλος ὢν ἀπὸ τῆς χροᾶς καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς  
 ἐκτετηκυίας καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὑποδεδυκότων, ἔσθ’ ὅπως ὁ τοιοῦ-  
 5 τος οὐ παραπαίειν δόξειεν ἄν, δέον παιδοποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἀπολαύειν  
 τοῦ γάμου, καταμαραίνων εὐπρόσωπον οὕτω καὶ ἐπέραστον κόρην  
 καθάπερ ἱέρειαν τῇ Θεσμοφόρῳ τρέφων διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου;  
 ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀγανακτῶ, πρὸς ἐνίων μὲν ἀτίμως λακτιζόμενος καὶ  
 10 λαφυσσόμενος καὶ ἐξαντλούμενος, ὑπ’ ἐνίων δὲ ὥσπερ στιγματίας  
 δραπέτης πεπεδημένος.

## ΖΕΥΣ

Τί οὖν ἀγανακτεῖς κατ’ αὐτῶν; διδόασι γὰρ ἄμφω καλὴν τὴν δίκην, 18  
 οἱ μὲν ὥσπερ ὁ Τάνταλος ἄποτοι καὶ ἄγευστοι καὶ ξηροὶ τὸ στόμα,  
 ἐπικεχηνότες μόνον τῷ χρυσίῳ, οἱ δὲ καθάπερ ὁ Φινεύς ἀπὸ τῆς  
 φάρυγγος τὴν τροφήν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἄρπυιῶν ἀφαιρούμενοι. ἀλλ’ ἅπιθι  
 15 ἤδη σωφρονεστέρωι παρὰ πολὺ τῷ Τίμῳ ἐντευξόμενος.

## ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ

Ἐκεῖνος γάρ ποτε παύσεται ὥσπερ ἐκ κοφίνου τετρυπημένον, πρὶν  
 ὅλως εἰςρυῆναι με, κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐξαντλῶν, φθάσαι βουλόμενος τὴν  
 ἐπιρροήν, μὴ ὑπέραντλος εἰσπεσὼν ἐπικλύσω αὐτόν; ὥστε ἐς τὸν  
 τῶν Δαναΐδων πίθον ὕδροφορήσειν μοι δοκῶ καὶ μάτην ἐπαντλή-  
 20 σειν, τοῦ κύτους μὴ στέγοντος, ἀλλὰ πρὶν εἰςρυῆναι σχεδὸν ἐκχυθη-  
 σομένου τοῦ ἐπιρρέοντος· οὕτως εὐρύτερον τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἐκχυσιν  
 κεχηνὸς τοῦ πίθου καὶ ἀκώλυτος ἢ ἑξοδος.

## ΖΕΥΣ

Οὐκοῦν, ἣν μὴ ἐμφράξῃται τὸ κεχηνὸς τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὸ ἄπαξ ἀναπεπι- 19  
 ταμένον, ἐκχυθέντος ἐν βραχεῖ σου ραϊδίῳ εὐρήσει τὴν διφθέραν  
 25 αὐθις καὶ τὴν δίκηλλαν ἐν τῇ τρυγί τοῦ πίθου. ἀλλ’ ἅπιτε ἤδη  
 καὶ πλουτίζετε αὐτόν· σὺ δὲ μέμνησο, ὦ Ἑρμῇ, ἐπανιών πρὸς ἡμᾶς  
 ἄγειν τοὺς Κύκλωπας ἐκ τῆς Αἴτνης, ὅπως τὸν κεραυνὸν ἀκονήσαν-  
 τες ἐπισκευάσωσιν· ὡς ἤδη γε τεθηγμένου αὐτοῦ δεησόμεθα.

23 ἐς τὸ ἄπαξ M: τὸ εἰσάπαξ Cobet: ἔσται ἄπαξ Harmon

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

- 20 Προΐωμεν, ὦ Πλοῦτε. τί τοῦτο; ὑποσκάζεις; ἐλελήθεις με, ὦ γεννάδα, οὐ τυφλὸς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ χωλὸς ὢν.

## ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ

Οὐκ αἶ τοῦτο, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, ἀλλ' ὅπότεν μὲν ἀπίω παρά τινα πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως βραδύς εἰμι καὶ χωλὸς ἀμφοτέροις, ὥς μόγις τελεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα, προγηράσαντος ἐνίστε τοῦ περι-  
 μένοντος, ὅπότεν δὲ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι δέημι, πτηνὸν ὄψει, πολὺ τῶν  
 5 ὀνείρων ὠκυτερον· ἅμα γοῦν ἔπεσεν ἡ ὕσπληξ, κἀγὼ ἤδη ἀνακηρύττομαι νενικηκώς, ὑπερπηδήσας τὸ στάδιον οὐδὲ ἰδόντων ἐνίστε τῶν θεατῶν.

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

Οὐκ ἀληθὴ ταῦτα φῆις· ἐγὼ γέ τοι πολλοὺς ἂν εἶπεῖν ἔχοιμί σοι χθές  
 10 μὲν οὐδὲ ὀβολὸν ὥστε πρίασθαι βρόχον ἐσχηκότας, ἄφνω δὲ τήμερον πλουσίους καὶ πολυτελεῖς ἐπὶ λευκοῦ ζεύγους ἐξελαύνοντας, οἷς οὐδὲ κἂν ὄνος ὑπῆρξε πώποτε. καὶ ὅμως πορφυροὶ καὶ χρυσόχειρες περιέρχονται οὐδ' αὐτοὶ πιστεύοντες οἶμαι ὅτι μὴ ὄναρ πλουτοῦσιν.

## ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ

- 21 Ἐτεροῖον τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, καὶ οὐχὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ποσὶ βαδίζω  
 15 τότε, οὐδὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀλλ' ὁ Πλούτων ἀποστέλλει με παρ' αὐτοὺς ἅτε πλουτοδότης καὶ μεγαλόδωρος καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν· δηλοῖ γοῦν καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι. ἐπειδὴν τοίνυν μετοικισθῆναι δέημι με παρ' ἐτέρου πρὸς ἕτερον, ἐς δέλτον ἐμβalόντες με καὶ κατασημηνάμενοι ἐπιμελῶς φορηδὸν ἀράμενοι μετακομίζουσιν· καὶ ὁ μὲν νεκρὸς ἐν σκοτεινῷ  
 20 που τῆς οἰκίας πρόκειται ὑπὲρ τὰ γόνατα παλαιαῖα τῇ ὀθόνηι σκεπτόμενος, περιμάχητος ταῖς γαλαῖς, ἐμὲ δὲ οἱ ἐπελπίσαντες ἐν τῇ  
 22 ἀγορᾷ περιμένουσι κεκηνότες ὥσπερ τὴν χελιδόνα προσπετομένην τετριγότες οἱ νεοττοί. ἐπειδὴν δὲ τὸ σημεῖον ἀφαιρεθῇ καὶ τὸ λίνον ἐντμηθῇ καὶ ἡ δέλτος ἀνοιχθῇ καὶ ἀνακηρυχθῇ μου ὁ καινὸς  
 25 δεσπότης ἥτοι συγγενὴς τις ἢ κόλαξ ἢ καταπύγων οἰκέτης ἐκ παιδικῶν τίμιος, ὑπεξυρημένος ἔτι τὴν γνάθον, ἀντὶ ποικίλων καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἡδονῶν ἃς ἤδη ἔξωρος ὢν ὑπηρέτησεν αὐτῷ μέγα

- τὸ μίσθωμα ὁ γενναῖος ἀπολαβών, ἐκεῖνος μὲν, ὅστις ἂν ᾗ ποτε, ἀρπασάμενός με αὐτῇ δέλτῳ θέει φέρων ἀντὶ τοῦ τέως Πυρρίου ἢ Δρόμωνος ἢ Τιβείου Μεγακλῆς ἢ Μεγάβυζος ἢ Πρώταρχος μετονομασθεῖς, τοὺς μάτην κεκηνότας ἐκεῖνους ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀποβλέποντας  
 5 καταλιπὼν ἀληθὲς ἄγοντας τὸ πένθος, οἷος αὐτοὺς ὁ θύννος ἐκ μυχοῦ τῆς σαγήνης διέφυγεν οὐκ ὀλίγον τὸ δέλεαρ καταπιών. ὁ δὲ ἐμπεσὼν  
 23 ἀθρόως εἰς ἐμὲ ἀπειρόκαλος καὶ παχύδερμος ἄνθρωπος, ἔτι τὴν πέδην πεφρικώς καὶ εἰ παριῶν ἄλλως μαστίξειέ τις ὄρθιον ἐφιστάς τὸ οὖς καὶ τὸν μυλῶνα ὥσπερ τὸ Ἀνάκτορον προσκυνῶν, οὐκέτι φορητὸς ἐστὶ  
 10 τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε ἐλευθέρους ὑβρίζει καὶ τοὺς ὁμοδούλους μαστιγοῖ ἀποπειρώμενος εἰ καὶ αὐτῷ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔξεστιν, ἄχρι ἂν ἢ ἐς πορνιδιὸν τι ἐμπεσὼν ἢ ἵπποτροφίας ἐπιθυμήσας ἢ κόλαξι παραδούς ἑαυτὸν ὁμνύουσιν, ἢ μὴν εὐμορφότερον μὲν Νιρέως εἶναι αὐτόν, εὐγενέστερον δὲ τοῦ Κέκροπος ἢ Κόδρου, συνετώτερον  
 15 δὲ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως, πλουσιώτερον δὲ συνάμα Κροίσων ἐκκαίδεκα, ἐν ἀκαρεῖ τοῦ χρόνου ἄθλιος ἐκχέη τὰ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐκ πολλῶν ἐπιπορκιῶν καὶ ἀρπαγῶν καὶ πανουργιῶν συνειλεγμένα.

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

- Αὐτὰ που σχεδὸν φῆις τὰ γινόμενα· ὅπότεν δ' οὖν αὐτόπους  
 24 βαδίζῃς, πῶς οὕτω τυφλὸς ὢν εὐρίσκεις τὴν ὁδόν; ἢ πῶς δια-  
 20 γινώσκεις ἐφ' οὗς ἂν σε ὁ Ζεὺς ἀποστείλῃ κρίνας εἶναι τοῦ πλουτεῖν ἀξίους;

## ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ

Οἷε γὰρ εὐρίσκειν με οἵτινές εἰσι; μὰ τὸν Δία οὐ πάνν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν Ἀριστείδην καταλιπὼν Ἴππονίκῳ καὶ Καλλίαι προσήειν καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίων οὐδὲ ὀβολοῦ ἀξίοις.

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

- 25 Πλὴν ἀλλὰ τί πράττεις καταπεμφθεῖς;

## ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ

Ἄνω καὶ κάτω πλανῶμαι, περινοστῶν ἄχρι ἂν λάθω τινὶ ἐμπεσόν· ὁ δέ, ὅστις ἂν πρῶτός μοι περιτύχῃ, ἀπαγαγὼν παρ' αὐτὸν ἔχει, σὲ τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἐπὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ τοῦ κέρδους προσκυνῶν.

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

- 25 Οὐκοῦν ἐξηπάτηται ὁ Ζεὺς οἰόμενός σε κατὰ τὰ αὐτῷ δοκοῦντα πλουτίζειν ὅσους ἂν οἴηται τοῦ πλουτεῖν ἀξίους;

## ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ

Καὶ μάλα δικάίως, ὦγαθέ, ὅς γε τυφλὸν ὄντα εἰδὼς ἔπεμπεν ἀναζητή-  
 στοντα δυσεῦρετον οὕτω χρήμα καὶ πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐκλελοιπὸς ἐκ τοῦ  
 βίου, ὅπερ οὐδ' ὁ Λυγκεὺς ἂν ἐξεύροι ῥαϊδίως ἀμαυρὸν οὕτω καὶ  
 μικρὸν ὄν. τοιγαροῦν ἄτε τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν ὀλίγων ὄντων, πονηρῶν  
 δὲ πλείστων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τὸ πᾶν ἐπεχόντων, ῥαῖιον ἐς τοὺς τοιού-  
 τους ἐμπίπτω περιῶν καὶ σαγηνεύομαι πρὸς αὐτῶν.

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

Εἴτα πῶς ἐπειδὴν καταλίπηις αὐτοὺς ῥαϊδίως φεύγεις, οὐκ εἰδὼς τὴν  
 ὁδόν;

## ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ

Ὅξυδερκὴς τότε πως καὶ ἀρτίπους γίνομαι πρὸς μόνον τὸν καιρὸν  
 τῆς φυγῆς.

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

- 26 Ἔτι δὴ μοι καὶ τοῦτο ἀπόκριναι, πῶς τυφλὸς ὢν – εἰρήσεται γάρ  
 – καὶ προσέτι ὥχρὸς καὶ βαρὺς ἐκ τοῖν σκελοῖν τοσούτους ἐραστὰς  
 ἔχεις, ὥστε πάντας ἀποβλέπειν εἰς σέ, καὶ τυχόντας μὲν εὐδαιμονεῖν  
 οἶσθαι, εἰ δὲ ἀποτύχοιεν οὐκ ἀνέχεσθαι ζῶντας; οἶδα γοῦν τινας οὐκ  
 ὀλίγους αὐτῶν οὕτως σου δυσέρωτας ὄντας ὥστε καὶ ἐς βαθυκῆτεα  
 πόντον φεύγοντες ἔρριψαν αὐτοὺς καὶ πετρῶν κατ' ἡλιβάτων, ὑπερ-  
 οῤῃσθαι νομίζοντες ὑπὸ σοῦ ὅτιπερ οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐώρας αὐτούς.  
 πλὴν ἄλλὰ καὶ σὺ ἂν εὖ οἶδα ὅτι ὁμολογήσεις, εἴ τι συνίης σαυτοῦ, 20  
 κορυβαντιᾶν αὐτοὺς ἐρωμένωι τοιούτῳ ἐπιμεμηνότας.

## ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ

- 27 Οἶε γὰρ τοιοῦτον οἶός εἰμι ὁρᾶσθαι αὐτοῖς, χωλὸν ἢ τυφλὸν ἢ ὅσα  
 ἄλλα μοι πρόσσεστιν;

18 φεύγοντες codd. Theognidis: φέροντες m: om. m

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

Ἀλλὰ πῶς, ὦ Πλοῦτε, εἰ μὴ τυφλοὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες εἰσίν;

## ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ

Οὐ τυφλοὶ, ὦ ἄριστε, ἀλλ' ἡ ἄγνοια καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη, αἵπερ νῦν κατ-  
 ἔχουσι τὰ πάντα, ἐπισκιάζουσιν αὐτούς· ἔτι δὲ καὶ αὐτός, ὥς μὴ παν-  
 τάπασιν ἄμορφος εἶην, προσωπεῖόν τι ἐρασμιώτατον περιθέμενος,  
 5 διάχρυσον καὶ λιθοκόλλητον, καὶ ποικίλα ἐνδὺς ἐντυγχάνω αὐτοῖς·  
 οἱ δὲ αὐτοπρόσωπον οἰόμενοι ὁρᾶν τὸ κάλλος ἐρώσι καὶ ἀπόλλυν-  
 ται μὴ τυγχάνοντες. ὥς εἴ γέ τις αὐτοῖς ὄλον ἀπογυμνώσας ἐπέδειξέ  
 με, δῆλον ὥς κατεγίνωσκον ἂν αὐτῶν ἀμβλυώττοντες τὰ τηλικαῦτα  
 καὶ ἐρῶντες ἀνεράστων καὶ ἀμόρφων πραγμάτων.

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

- 20 Τί οὖν ὅτι καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἤδη τῷ πλουτεῖν γενόμενοι καὶ τὸ προσω- 28  
 πεῖον αὐτοὶ περιθέμενοι ἔτι ἐξαπατῶνται, καὶ ἦν τις ἀφαιρῆται  
 αὐτούς, θάττον ἂν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἢ τὸ προσωπεῖον πρόοινο; οὐ  
 γὰρ δὴ καὶ τότε ἀγνοεῖν εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς ὥς ἐπίχριστος ἡ εὐμορφία  
 ἐστίν, ἐνδοθεν τὰ πάντα ὀρῶντας.

## ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ

- 25 Οὐκ ὀλίγα, ὦ Ἑρμῇ, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτό μοι συναγωνίζεται.

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

Τὰ ποῖα;

## ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ

Ἐπειδὴν τις ἐντυχὼν τὸ πρῶτον ἀναπετάσας τὴν θύραν εἰσδέχεταιί  
 με, συμπαρεισέρχεται μετ' ἐμοῦ λαθὼν ὁ Τῦφος καὶ ἡ Ἄνοια καὶ  
 ἡ Μεγαλαυχία καὶ Μαλακία καὶ Ὕβρις καὶ Ἀπάτη καὶ ἄλλ' ἄττα  
 20 μυρία· ὑπὸ δὴ τούτων ἀπάντων καταληφθεὶς τὴν ψυχὴν θαυμάζει  
 τε τὰ οὐ θαυμαστὰ καὶ ὀρέγεται τῶν φευκτῶν καὶ μὲν τὸν πάντων  
 ἐκείνων πατέρα τῶν εἰσεληλυθότων κακῶν τέθηπε δορυφορούμενον  
 ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ πάντα πρότερον πάθοι ἂν ἢ ἐμὲ προέσθαι ὑπομείνειεν  
 ἂν.

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

29 ὥς δὲ λείος εἶ καὶ ὀλισθηρός, ὦ Πλοῦτε, καὶ δυσκάτοχος καὶ δια-  
φευκτικός, οὐδεμίαν ἀντιλαβὴν παρεχόμενος βεβαίαν ἀλλ' ὥσπερ αἱ  
ἐγχέλεις ἢ οἱ ὄφεις διὰ τῶν δακτύλων δραπετεύεις οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως· ἢ  
Πενία δ' ἔμπαλιν ἰξώδης τε καὶ εὐλαβὴς καὶ μυρία τὰ ἄγκιστρα ἐκπε-  
φυκότα ἐξ ἅπαντος τοῦ σώματος ἔχουσα, ὥς πλησιάσαντας εὐθύς 5  
ἔχεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἔχειν ῥαδίως ἀπολυθῆναι. ἀλλὰ μεταξὺ φλυαροῦντας  
ἡμᾶς πρᾶγμα ἤδη οὐ μικρὸν διέλαθε.

## ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ

Τὸ ποῖον;

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

Ὅτι τὸν Θησαυρὸν οὐκ ἐπηγαγόμεθα, οὔπερ ἔδει μάλιστα.

## ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ

30 Θάρρει τούτου γε ἔνεκα· ἐν τῇ γῇ αὐτὸν αἰ καταλείπων ἀνέρχο- 10  
μαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπισκήψας ἔνδον μένειν ἐπικλεισάμενον τὴν θύραν,  
ἀνοίγειν δὲ μηδενί, ἢν μὴ ἐμοῦ ἀκούσῃ βοήσαντος.

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

Οὐκοῦν ἐπιβαίνωμεν ἤδη τῆς Ἀττικῆς· καί μοι ἔπου ἐχόμενος τῆς  
χλαμύδος, ἄχρι ἂν πρὸς τὴν ἐσχατιὰν ἀφίκωμαι.

## ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ

Εὖ ποιεῖς, ὦ Ἑρμῇ, χειραγωγῶν· ἐπεὶ ἦν γε ἀπολίπηις με, Ὑπερβόλῳ 15  
τάχα ἢ Κλέωνι ἐμπεσοῦμαι περινοστών. ἀλλὰ τίς ὁ ψόφος οὗτός  
ἐστιν καθάπερ σιδήρου πρὸς λίθον;

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

31 Ὁ Τίμων οὕτωσὶ σκάπτει πλησίον ὀρεινὸν καὶ ὑπόλιθον γήιδιον.  
παπαί, καὶ ἡ Πενία πάρεστι καὶ ὁ Πόνος ἐκεῖνος, ἡ Καρτερία τε καὶ  
ἡ Σοφία καὶ ἡ Ἀνδρεία καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος ὄχλος τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ Λιμῷ 20  
ταττομένων ἀπάντων, πολὺ ἀμείνους τῶν σῶν δορυφόρων.

## ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ

Τί οὖν οὐκ ἀπαλλαττόμεθα, ὦ Ἑρμῇ, τὴν ταχίστην; οὐ γὰρ ἂν τι  
ἡμεῖς δράσαιμεν ἀξιόλογον πρὸς ἄνδρα ὑπὸ τηλικούτου στρατο-  
πέδου περιεσχημένον.

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

Ἄλλως ἔδοξε τῷ Δίῃ· μὴ ἀποδειλιῶμεν οὖν.

## ΠΕΝΙΑ

5 Ποῖ τοῦτον ἀπάγεις, ὦ Ἀργειφόντα, χειραγωγῶν; 32

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

Ἐπὶ τοντονὶ τὸν Τίμωνα ἐπέμφθημεν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός.

## ΠΕΝΙΑ

Νῦν ὁ Πλοῦτος ἐπὶ Τίμωνα, ὅποτε αὐτὸν ἐγὼ κακῶς ἔχοντα ὑπὸ  
τῆς Τρυφῆς παραλαβοῦσα, τουτοισὶ παραδοῦσα, τῇ Σοφίᾳ καὶ  
τῷ Πόνῳ, γενναῖον ἄνδρα καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἀπέδειξα; οὕτως ἄρα  
10 εὐκαταφρόνητος ὑμῖν ἡ Πενία δοκῶ καὶ εὐαδίκητος, ὥσθ' ὁ μόνον  
κτῆμα εἶχον ἀφαιρεῖσθαι με, ἀκριβῶς πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐξεργασμένον,  
ἵνα αὐθις ὁ Πλοῦτος παραλαβὼν αὐτὸν Ὑβρει καὶ Τύφῳ ἐγχειρίσας  
ὅμοιον τῷ πάλαι μαλθακὸν καὶ ἀγεννῇ καὶ ἀνόητον ἀποφῆνας  
ἀποδῶι πάλιν ἐμοὶ ῥάκος ἤδη γεγεννημένον;

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

15 Ἔδοξε ταῦτα, ὦ Πενία, τῷ Δίῃ.

## ΠΕΝΙΑ

Ἀπέρχομαι· καὶ ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ Πόνε καὶ Σοφία καὶ οἱ λοιποί, ἀκολουθεῖτέ 33  
μοι. οὗτος δὲ τάχα εἴσεται, οἷαν με οὔσαν ἀπολείψει, ἀγαθὴν  
συνεργὸν καὶ διδάσκαλον τῶν ἀρίστων, ἢ συνὼν ὑγεινὸς μὲν τὸ  
σῶμα, ἐρρωμένος δὲ τὴν γνώμην διετέλεσεν, ἀνδρὸς βίον ζῶν καὶ  
20 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποβλέπων, τὰ δὲ περιττὰ καὶ πολλὰ ταῦτα, ὥσπερ  
ἐστίν, ἀλλότρια ὑπολαμβάνων.

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

Ἀπέρχονται· ἡμεῖς δὲ προσίωμεν αὐτῷ.

## ΤΙΜΩΝ

- 34 Τίνες ἐστέ, ὦ κατάρατοι; ἢ τί βουλόμενοι δεῦρο ἦκετε ἄνδρα ἐργάτην καὶ μισθοφόρον ἐνοχλήσοντες; ἀλλ' οὐ χαίροντες ἄπιτε μισροὶ πάντες ὄντες· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμᾶς αὐτίκα μάλα βάλλων τοῖς βώλοις καὶ τοῖς λίθοις συντρίψω.

5

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

Μηδαμῶς, ὦ Τίμων, μὴ βάλης· οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπους ὄντας βαλεῖς, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν Ἑρμῆς εἰμι, οὐτοσί δὲ ὁ Πλοῦτος· ἔπεμψε δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐπακούσας τῶν εὐχῶν, ὥστε ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ δέχου τὸν ὄλβον ἀποστὰς τῶν πόνων.

## ΤΙΜΩΝ

Καὶ ὑμεῖς οἰμώξεσθε ἤδη καίτοι θεοὶ ὄντες, ὥς φατε· πάντας γὰρ ἅμα 10 καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ θεοὺς μισῶ, τουτονὶ δὲ τὸν τυφλόν, ὅστις ἂν ᾔη, καὶ ἐπιτρίψειν μοι δοκῶ τῇ δικέλλῃ.

## ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ

Ἀπίωμεν, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, πρὸς τοῦ Διός, μελαγχολᾶν γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὐ μετρίως μοι δοκεῖ, μή τι κακὸν ἀπέλθω προσλαβών.

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

- 35 Μηδὲν σκαίον, ὦ Τίμων, ἀλλὰ τὸ πᾶν τοῦτο ἄγριον καὶ τραχὺ 15 καταβαλὼν προτείνας τῷ χεῖρε λάμβανε τὴν ἀγαθὴν τύχην καὶ πλούτει πάλιν καὶ ἴσθι Ἀθηναίων τὰ πρῶτα καὶ ὑπερόρα τῶν ἀχαρίστων ἐκείνων μόνος αὐτὸς εὐδαιμονῶν.

## ΤΙΜΩΝ

Οὐδὲν ὑμῶν δέομαι· μὴ ἐνοχλεῖτέ μοι· ἱκανὸς ἐμοὶ πλοῦτος ἢ δίκηλλα, 20 τὰ δ' ἄλλα εὐδαιμονέστατός εἰμι μηδενὸς μοι πλησιάζοντος.

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

Οὕτως, ὦ τᾶν, ἀπανθρώπως;  
τόνδε φέρω Διὶ μῦθον ἀπηνέα τε κρατερόν τε;  
καὶ μὴν εἰκὸς ἦν μισάνθρωπον μὲν εἶναι σε τοσαῦτα ὑπ' αὐτῶν δεινὰ  
πεπονθότα, μισόtheon δὲ μηδαμῶς, οὕτως ἐπιμελουμένων σου τῶν  
5 θεῶν.

## ΤΙΜΩΝ

Ἀλλὰ σοὶ μὲν, Ἑρμῆ, καὶ τῷ Διὶ πλείστη χάρις τῆς ἐπιμελείας, του- 36  
τονὶ δὲ τὸν Πλοῦτον οὐκ ἂν λάβοιμι.

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

Τί δή;

## ΤΙΜΩΝ

Ὅτι καὶ πάλαι μυρίων μοι κακῶν αἴτιος οὗτος κατέστη κόλαξί τε  
10 παραδούς καὶ ἐπιβούλους ἐπαγαγών καὶ μῖσος ἐπεγείρας καὶ ἡδυ-  
παθείαι διαφθείρας καὶ ἐπίφθονον ἀποφήνας, τέλος δὲ ἄφνω κατα-  
λιπὼν οὕτως ἀπίστως καὶ προδοτικῶς· ἢ βελτίστη δὲ Πενία πόνοις  
με τοῖς ἀνδρικωτάτοις καταγυμνάσασα καὶ μετ' ἀληθείας καὶ παρ-  
ρησίας προσομιλοῦσα τὰ τε ἀναγκαῖα κάμνοντι παρῆχε καὶ τῶν  
15 πολλῶν ἐκείνων καταφρονεῖν ἐπαίδευεν, ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐμοῦ τὰς ἐλπίδας  
ἀπαρτήσασά μοι τοῦ βίου καὶ δείξασα ὅστις ἦν ὁ πλοῦτος ὁ ἐμός,  
ὃν οὔτε κόλαξ θωπεύων οὔτε συκοφάντης φοβῶν, οὐ δῆμος παροξ-  
υνθεῖς, οὐκ ἐκκλησιαστής ψηφοφορήσας, οὐ τύραννος ἐπιβουλεύσας  
ἀφελέσθαι δύναιτ' ἂν. ἐρρωμένος τοιγαροῦν ὑπὸ τῶν πόνων τὸν 37  
20 ἀγρὸν τουτονὶ φιλοπόνως ἐπεργαζόμενος, οὐδὲν ὀρῶν τῶν ἐν ἄστει  
κακῶν, ἱκανὰ καὶ διαρκῆ ἔχω τὰ ἄλφιστα παρὰ τῆς δικέλλης. ὥστε  
παλίνδρομος ἄπιθι, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, τὸν Πλοῦτον ἀπαγαγὼν τῷ Διὶ·  
ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἱκανὸν ἦν, πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἡβηδὸν οἰμώζειν  
ποιῆσαι.

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

25 Μηδαμῶς, ὦ γαθέ· οὐ γὰρ πάντες εἰσὶν ἐπιτήδαιοι πρὸς οἰμωγὴν.  
ἀλλ' ἔα τὰ ὀργίλα ταῦτα καὶ μερακιώδη καὶ τὸν Πλοῦτον παράλαβε.  
οὗτοι ἀπόβλητά ἐστι τὰ δῶρα τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Διός.

## ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ

Βούλει, ὦ Τίμων, δικαιολογήσομαι πρὸς σέ; ἢ χαλεπανεῖς μοι λέγοντι;

## ΤΙΜΩΝ

Λέγε, μὴ μακρὰ μέντοι, μηδὲ μετὰ προοιμίων, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐπίτριπτοι ῥήτορες· ἀνέξομαι γὰρ σε ὀλίγα λέγοντα διὰ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τουτονί.

## ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ

38 Ἐχρῆν μέντοι ἴσως καὶ μακρὰ εἰπεῖν, οὕτω πολλὰ ὑπὸ σοῦ κατη- 5  
γορηθέντα· ὅμως δὲ ὅρα εἴ τί σε, ὥς φῆις, ἡδίκηκα, ὅς τῶν μὲν  
ἡδίστων ἀπάντων αἰτίος σοι κατέστην, τιμῆς καὶ προεδρίας καὶ  
στεφάνων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τρυφῆς, περίβλεπτός τε καὶ ἀοίδιμος δι'  
ἐμὲ ἦσθα καὶ περισπούδαστος· εἰ δέ τι χαλεπὸν ἐκ τῶν κολάκων  
πέπονθας, ἀναίτιος ἐγὼ σοι· μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸς ἡδίκημαι τοῦτο ὑπὸ 10  
σοῦ, διότι με οὕτως ἀτίμως ὑπέβαλες ἀνδράσι καταράτοις ἐπαι-  
νοῦσι καὶ καταγοητεύουσι καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἐπιβουλεύουσί μοι· καὶ  
τό γε τελευταῖον ἔφησθα, ὥς προδεδωκά σε, τοῦναντίον δὲ αὐτὸς  
ἐγκαλέσαιμί σοι πάντα τρόπον ἀπελαθείς ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ κεφαλῇν  
ἐξωσθείς τῆς οἰκίας. τοιγαροῦν ἀντὶ μαλακῆς χλανίδος ταύτην 15  
διφθέραν ἢ τιμιωτάτῃ σοι Πενία περιτέθεικεν. ὥστε μάρτυς ὁ Ἑρμῆς  
οὕτοσί, πῶς ἰκέτευον τὸν Δία μηκέθ' ἡκείν παρὰ σε οὕτως δυσμενῶς  
μοι προσενηγεμένον.

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

39 Ἀλλὰ νῦν ὁρᾷς, ὦ Πλοῦτε, οἷος ἤδη γεγένηται; ὥστε θαρρῶν 20  
συνδιάτριβε αὐτῷ καὶ σὺ μὲν σκάπτε ὥς ἔχεις· σὺ δὲ τὸν Θησαυρὸν  
ὑπάγαγε τῇ δικέλλῃ· ὑπακούσεται γὰρ ἐμβοήσαντί σοι.

## ΤΙΜΩΝ

Πειστέον, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, καὶ αὖθις πλουτητέον. τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ πάθοι τις,  
ὅποτε οἱ θεοὶ βιάζονται; πλὴν ὅρα γε εἰς οἷά με πράγματα ἐμβάλλεις  
τὸν κακοδαίμονα, ὅς ἄχρι νῦν εὐδαιμονέστατα διάγων χρυσὸν ἄφνω

τοσοῦτον λήψομαι οὐδὲν ἀδικήσας καὶ τοσαύτας φροντίδας ἀναδέξομαι.

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

Ὑπόστηθι, ὦ Τίμων, δι' ἐμέ, καὶ εἰ χαλεπὸν τοῦτο καὶ οὐκ οἶστόν 40  
ἐστίν, ὅπως οἱ κόλακες ἐκείνοι διαρραγῶσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου· ἐγὼ  
5 δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν Αἴτνην ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναπτήσομαι.

## ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ

Ὁ μὲν ἀπελήλυθεν, ὥς δοκεῖ· τεκμαίρομαι γὰρ τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ τῶν  
πτερῶν· σὺ δὲ αὐτοῦ περίμενε· ἀναπέμψω γὰρ σοι τὸν Θησαυρὸν  
ἀπελθών· μᾶλλον δὲ παῖε. σέ φημι, Θησαυρὲ χρυσοῦ, ὑπάκουσον  
Τίμωνι τουτῶι καὶ παράσχες ἑαυτὸν ἀνελέσθαι. σκάπτε, ὦ Τίμων,  
10 βαθείας καταφέρων. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν ὑπεκοστήσομαι.

## ΤΙΜΩΝ

Ἄγε, ὦ δίκηλλα, νῦν μοι ἐπὶ ῥῶσον σεαυτὴν καὶ μὴ κάμηις ἐκ τοῦ 41  
βάθους τὸν Θησαυρὸν ἐς τοῦφανὲς προκαλουμένη. ὦ Ζεῦ τεράστιε  
καὶ φίλοι Κορύβαντες καὶ Ἑρμῇ κερδῶιε, πόθεν τοσοῦτον χρυσίον; ἢ  
που ὄναρ ταῦτά ἐστι; δέδια γοῦν μὴ ἄνθρακας εὖρω ἀνεγρόμενος·  
15 ἀλλὰ μὴν χρυσίον ἐστὶν ἐπίσημον, ὑπέρυθρον, βαρὺ καὶ τὴν πρόσ-  
οψιν ὑπερήδιστον.

ὦ χρυσέ, δεξίωμα κάλλιστον βροτοῖς·

αἰθόμενον γὰρ πῦρ ἅτε διαπρέπεις καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν. ἐλθέ,  
ὦ φίλτατε καὶ ἐρασμιώτατε. νῦν πείθομαί γε καὶ Δία ποτὲ γενέσθαι 20  
χρυσόν· τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν παρθένος ἀναπεπταμένοις τοῖς κόλποις  
ὑπεδέξατο οὕτω καλὸν ἐραστὴν διὰ τοῦ τέγους καταρρέοντα; ὦ 42  
Μίδα καὶ Κροῖσε καὶ τὰ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀναθήματα, ὥς οὐδὲν ἄρα ἦτε  
ὥς πρὸς Τίμωνα καὶ τὸν Τίμωνος πλοῦτον, ὧι γε οὐδὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς  
Περσῶν ἴσος.

25 ὦ δίκηλλα καὶ φιλότατη διφθέρα, ὑμᾶς μὲν τῷ Πανὶ τούτῳ  
ἀναθεῖναι καλόν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἤδη πᾶσαν πριάμενος τὴν ἐσχατιάν,  
πυργίον οἰκοδομησάμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ θησαυροῦ μόνῳ ἐμοὶ ἱκανὸν  
ἐνδαιτᾶσθαι, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ τάφον ἀποθανόνων ἔξειν μοι δοκῶ.

“Δεδόχθω δὲ ταῦτα καὶ νενομοθετήσθω πρὸς τὸν ἐπίλοιπον βίον, ἀμιξία πρὸς ἅπαντας καὶ ἀγνωσία καὶ ὑπεροψία· φίλος δὲ ἢ ξένος ἢ ἑταῖρος ἢ Ἑλέου βωμὸς ὕθλος πολὺς· καὶ τὸ οἰκτεῖραι δακρύοντα ἢ  
 43 ἐπικουρῆσαι δεομένῳ παρανομία καὶ κατάλυσις τῶν ἐθῶν· μονήρης δὲ ἢ δίαιτα καθάπερ τοῖς λύκοις, καὶ φίλος εἰς Τίμων. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι  
 5 πάντες ἐχθροὶ καὶ ἐπίβουλοι· καὶ τὸ προσομιλῆσαι τινι αὐτῶν μίσημα· καὶ ἦν τινα ἴδω μόνον, ἀποφράς ἢ ἡμέρα· καὶ ὅλως ἀνδριάντων λιθίνων ἢ χαλκῶν μηδὲν ἡμῖν διαφερέτωσαν· καὶ μήτε κήρυκα δεχόμεθα παρ’ αὐτῶν μήτε σπονδὰς σπενδόμεθα· ἢ ἐρημία δὲ ὄρος  
 10 ἔστω πρὸς αὐτούς. φυλέται δὲ καὶ φράτορες καὶ δημόται καὶ ἢ πατρὶς αὐτῇ ψυχρὰ καὶ ἀνωφελῇ ὀνόματα καὶ ἀνοήτων ἀνδρῶν φιλοτιμήματα. πλουτεῖτω δὲ Τίμων μόνος καὶ ὑπεροράτω ἀπάντων καὶ τρυφάτω μόνος καθ’ ἑαυτὸν κολακείας καὶ ἐπαίνων φορτικῶν ἀπηλλαγμένος· καὶ θεοῖς θυέτω καὶ εὐωχεῖτω μόνος, ἑαυτῷ γείτων καὶ ὁμορος, ἐκὰς ὧν τῶν ἄλλων. καὶ ἅπασι ἑαυτὸν δεξιώσασθαι δεδόχθω, ἦν  
 15 δέηι ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ αὐτῷ στέφανον ἐπενεγκεῖν. καὶ ὄνομα μὲν ἔστω ὁ Μισάνθρωπος ἡδιστον, τοῦ τρόπου δὲ γνωρίσματα δυσκολία καὶ τραχύτης καὶ σκαιότης καὶ ὀργὴ καὶ ἀπανθρωπία· εἰ δὲ τινα ἴδοιμι, ἐν πυρὶ καταδιαφθειρόμενον καὶ σβεννύναι ἱκετεύοντα, πίττηι καὶ ἐλαίῳ κατασβεννύναι· καὶ ἦν τινα τοῦ χειμῶνος ὁ ποταμὸς  
 20 παραφέρηι, ὁ δὲ τὰς χεῖρας ὀρέγων ἀντιλαβέσθαι δέηται, ὠθεῖν καὶ τοῦτον ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν βαπτίζοντα, ὡς μηδὲ ἀνακύψαι δυναθεῖ· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν τὴν ἴσιν ἀπολάβοιεν. εἰσηγήσατο τὸν νόμον Τίμων Ἐχεκράτιδου Κολλυτεύς, ἐπεψήφισεν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Τίμων ὁ αὐτός.”  
 25

45 Εἶεν, ταῦτα ἡμῖν δεδόχθω καὶ ἀνδρικῶς ἐμμένωμεν αὐτοῖς. πλὴν ἀλλὰ περὶ πολλοῦ ἂν ἐποίησάμην ἅπασι γνώριμά πως ταῦτα γενέσθαι, διότι ὑπερπλουτῶ· ἀγχόνη γὰρ ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα γένοιτο αὐτοῖς. καίτοι τί τοῦτο; φεῦ τοῦ τάχους. πανταχόθεν συνθέουσιν κεκοινήμενοι καὶ πνευστιῶντες, οὐκ οἶδα ὅθεν ὁσφραινόμενοι τοῦ  
 30 χρυσίου. πότερον οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν πάγον τοῦτον ἀναβὰς ἀπελαύνω αὐτούς τοῖς λίθοις ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων ἀκροβολιζόμενος, ἢ τό γε τοσοῦτον παρανομήσομεν εἰσάπαξ αὐτοῖς ὁμιλήσαντες, ὡς πλέον ἀνιῶντο ὑπερορώμενοι; τοῦτο οἶμαι καὶ ἄμεινον. ὥστε δεχόμεθα ἤδη αὐτοὺς  
 35 ὑποστάντες. φέρε ἴδω, τίς ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν οὗτός ἐστι; Γναθωνίδης ὁ κόλαξ, ὁ πρῶτην ἔρανον αἰτήσαντί μοι ὀρέξας τὸν βρόχον, πίθους ὅλους παρ’ ἐμοὶ πολλὰκίς ἐμημεκῶς. ἀλλ’ εὖ γε ἐποίησεν ἀφικόμενος· οἰμώζεται γὰρ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων.

## ΓΝΑΘΩΝΙΔΗΣ

Οὐκ ἐγὼ ἔλεγον ὡς οὐκ ἀμελήσουσι Τίμωνος ἀγαθοῦ ἀνδρὸς οἱ θεοί; 46  
 χαῖρε Τίμων εὐμορφότατε καὶ ἡδιστε καὶ συμποτικώτατε.

## TIMΩΝ

Νῆ καὶ σύ γε, ὦ Γναθωνίδη, γυπῶν ἀπάντων βορώτατε καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιτριπτότατε.

## ΓΝΑΘΩΝΙΔΗΣ

5 Ἄει φιλοσκώμων σύ γε. ἀλλὰ ποῦ τὸ συμπόσιον; ὡς καινόν τί σοι ἄισμα τῶν νεοδιδάκτων διθυράμβων ἦκω κομίζων.

## TIMΩΝ

Καὶ μὴν ἔλεγεῖά γε ἄισιι μάλα περιπαθῶς ὑπὸ ταύτῃ τῇ δικέλλῃ.

## ΓΝΑΘΩΝΙΔΗΣ

Τί τοῦτο; παίεις, ὦ Τίμων; μαρτύρομαι· ὦ Ἡράκλεις, ἰοῦ ἰοῦ, προκαλοῦμαί σε τραύματος εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον.

## TIMΩΝ

∴ Καὶ μὴν ἂν γε μικρὸν ἐπιβραδύνηις, φόνου τάχα προκεκλήσομαι.

## ΓΝΑΘΩΝΙΔΗΣ

Μηδαμῶς· ἀλλὰ σύ γε πάντως τὸ τραῦμα ἴασαι μικρὸν ἐπιπάσας τοῦ χρυσίου· δεινῶς γὰρ ἴσχειμόν ἐστι τὸ φάρμακον.

## TIMΩΝ

Ἔτι γὰρ μένεις;

## ΓΝΑΘΩΝΙΔΗΣ

Ἀπειμι· σὺ δὲ οὐ χαιρήσεις οὕτω σκαιὸς ἐκ χρηστοῦ γενόμενος.

## ΤΙΜΩΝ

- 47 Τίς οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ προσιών, ὁ ἀναφаланτίας; Φιλιάδης, κολάκων ἀπάντων ὁ βδελυρώτατος. οὗτος δὲ ἀγρόν ὄλον παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβὼν καὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ προῖκα δύο τάλαντα, μισθὸν τοῦ ἐπαίνου, ὅποτε αἰσαντά με πάντων σιωπώντων μόνος ὑπερεπήνεσεν ἐπομοσά- 5  
μενος ὠδικοῦτερον εἶναι τῶν κύκνων, ἐπειδὴ νοσοῦντα πρῶϊν εἶδε με καὶ προσῆλθον ἐπικουρίας δεόμενος, πληγὰς ὁ γενναῖος προσ-  
ενέτεινεν.

## ΦΙΛΙΑΔΗΣ

- 48 Ὡ τῆς ἀναισχυντίας. νῦν Τίμωνα γνωρίζετε; νῦν Γναθωνίδης φίλος καὶ συμπότης; τοιγαροῦν δίκαια πέπονθεν οὕτως ἀχάριστος ὢν. ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ πάλοι συνήθεις καὶ συνέφηβοι καὶ δημόται ὅμως μετριά- 10  
ζομεν, ὡς μὴ ἐπιτηδᾶν δοκῶμεν. χαῖρε, ὦ δέσποτα, καὶ ὅπως τοὺς μισροὺς τούτους κόλακας φυλάξῃ, τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης μόνον, τὰ ἄλλα δὲ κοράκων οὐδὲν διαφέροντας. οὐκέτι πιστευτέα τῶν νῦν οὐδενί· πάντες ἀχάριστοι καὶ πονηροί. ἐγὼ δὲ τάλαντόν σοι κομίζῶν, ὡς ἔχοις πρὸς τὰ κατεπείγοντα χρῆσθαι, καθ' ὁδὸν ἤδη 15  
πλησίον ἤκουσα, ὡς πλουτοίης ὑπερμεγέθη τινὰ πλοῦτον. ἤκω τοιγαροῦν ταῦτά σε νουθετήσω· καίτοι σύ γε οὕτω σοφὸς ὢν οὐδὲν ἴσως δεῆσῃ τῶν παρ' ἐμοῦ λόγων, ὅς καὶ τῷ Νέστορι τὸ δέον παραινέσεις ἄν.

## ΤΙΜΩΝ

Ἔσται ταῦτα, ὦ Φιλιάδη. πλὴν ἀλλὰ πρόσιθι, ὡς καὶ σὲ 20  
φιλοφρονήσωμαι τῇ δικέλλῃ.

## ΦΙΛΙΑΔΗΣ

Ἄνθρωποι, κατέαγα τοῦ κρανίου ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀχαρίστου, διότι τὰ συμ-  
φέροντα ἐνουθέτουν αὐτόν.

## ΤΙΜΩΝ

- 49 Ἰδοὺ τρίτος οὗτος ὁ ῥήτωρ Δημέας προσέρχεται ψήφισμα ἔχων ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ καὶ συγγενὴς ἡμέτερος εἶναι λέγων. οὗτος ἑκαίδεκα παρ' 25  
ἐμοῦ τάλαντα μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἐκτίσας τῇ πόλει — καταδεδίκαστο γὰρ

καὶ ἐδέδετο οὐκ ἀποδιδούς, καγὼ ἐλεήσας ἐλυσάμην αὐτόν· ἐπειδὴ πρῶϊν ἔλαχεν τῇ Ἐρεχθίδι φυλῇ διανέμειν τὸ θεωρικὸν καγὼ προσῆλθον αἰτῶν τὸ γινόμενον, οὐκ ἔφη γνωρίζειν πολίτην ὄντα με.

## ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

- 5 Χαῖρε, ὦ Τίμων, τὸ μέγα ὄφελος τοῦ γένους, τὸ ἔρεισμα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, 50  
τὸ πρόβλημα τῆς Ἑλλάδος· καὶ μὴν πάλοι σε ὁ δῆμος συνειλεγ-  
μένος καὶ αἱ βουλαὶ ἀμφοτέραι περιμένουσι. πρότερον δὲ ἀκουσον τὸ ψήφισμα, ὃ ὑπὲρ σοῦ γέγραφα·  
“Ἐπειδὴ Τίμων Ἐχεκρατίδου Κολλυτεύς, ἀνὴρ οὐ μόνον καλὸς  
15 καγαθός, ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφὸς ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, παρὰ πάντα  
χρόνον διατελεῖ τὰ ἄριστα πράττων τῇ πόλει, νενίκηκεν δὲ πῦξ καὶ  
πάλην καὶ δρόμον ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ μιᾶς ἡμέρας καὶ τελείῳ ἄρματι καὶ  
συνωρίδι πωλικῇ — ”

## ΤΙΜΩΝ

Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ ἐθεώρησα ἐγὼ πώποτε εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν.

## ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

- 15 Τί οὖν; θεωρήσεις ὕστερον· τὰ τοιαῦτα δὲ πολλὰ προσκεῖσθαι  
ἄμεινον. “Καὶ ἡρίστευσε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως πέρυσι πρὸς Ἀχαρναῖς  
καὶ κατέκοψε Πελοποννησίων δύο μοίρας ”

## ΤΙΜΩΝ

Πῶς; διὰ γὰρ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ὄπλα οὐδὲ προῦγράφην ἐν τῷ κατα- 51  
λόγῳ.

## ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

- 20 Μέτρια τὰ περὶ σαυτοῦ λέγεις, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀχάριστοι ἂν εἴημεν  
ἀμνημονοῦντες. “Ἐτι δὲ καὶ ψηφίσματα γράφων καὶ συμβουλευῶν  
καὶ στρατηγῶν οὐ μικρὰ ὠφέλησε τὴν πόλιν· ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅπασι  
δεδοῖσθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τῇ Ἡλιαίᾳ κατὰ φυλὰς καὶ

5 Ἀθηνῶν Bekker: ἀθηναίων M 9 Ἐχεκρατίδου Dindorf: ὁ ἐχ- M 16 Ἀχαρναῖς  
Mehler: -νάας M 23 δεδοῖσθαι m: δεδοχθω m: δέδοκται m κατὰ φυλὰς M: καὶ ταῖς  
φυλαῖς Fritzsche



τοῖς δῆμοις ἰδίαί καὶ κοινῇ πᾶσι χρυσοῦν ἀναστῆσαι τὸν Τίμωνα παρὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει κεραυνὸν ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ ἔχοντα καὶ ἀκτῖνας ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις ἐπτά καὶ ἀνακηρυχθῆναι τοὺς στεφάνους σήμερον Διουνυσίοις τραγωιδοῖς καινοῖς ἀχθῆναι γὰρ δι' αὐτὸν δεῖ τήμερον τὰ Διονύσια. 5 εἶπε τὴν γνώμην Δημέας ὁ ῥήτωρ, συγγενὴς αὐτοῦ ἀγχιστεὺς καὶ μαθητὴς ὢν· καὶ γὰρ ῥήτωρ ἄριστος ὁ Τίμων καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὅποσα ἂν ἐθέλοι.”

52 Τοῦτ' ἐν οὖν σοι τὸ ψήφισμα. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐβουλόμην ἀγαγεῖν παρὰ σέ, ὃν ἐπὶ τῷ σῶι ὀνόματι Τίμωνα ὠνόμακα. 10

ΤΙΜΩΝ

Πῶς, ὦ Δημέα, ὃς οὐδέ γεγάμηκας, ὅσα γε καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι;

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

Ἄλλὰ γαμῶ, ἣν διδῶι θεός, ἐς νέωτα καὶ παιδοποιήσομαι καὶ τὸ γεννηθησόμενον ἄρρεν γὰρ ἔσται — Τίμωνα ἤδη καλῶ.

ΤΙΜΩΝ

Οὐκ οἶδα εἰ γαμησεῖς ἔτι, ὦ οὗτος, τηλικαύτην παρ' ἐμοῦ πληγὴν λαμβάνων. 15

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

Οἴμοι· τί τοῦτο; τυραννίδι Τίμων ἐπιχειρεῖς καὶ τύπτεις τοὺς ἐλευθέρους οὐ καθαρῶς ἐλεύθερος οὐδ' ἀστὸς ὢν; ἀλλὰ δώσεις ἐν τάχει τὴν δίκην τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅτι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐνέπρησας.

ΤΙΜΩΝ

53 Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐμπέπρησται, ὦ μιαρέ, ἡ ἀκρόπολις· ὥστε δῆλος εἶ συκοφαντῶν. 20

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

Ἄλλὰ καὶ πλουτεῖς τὸν ὀπισθόδομον διορύξας.

4 ἐπτά post στεφάνοις m: post ἀκτῖνας m 14 γαμησεῖς Fritzschē: γαμήσεις M  
17 ἀστὸς m: αὐτὸς m

ΤΙΜΩΝ

Οὐ διώρυκται οὐδὲ οὗτος, ὥστε ἀπίθανά σου καὶ ταῦτα.

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

Διορυχθήσεται μὲν ὕστερον· ἤδη δὲ σὺ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔχεις.

ΤΙΜΩΝ

Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἄλλην λάμβανε.

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

Οἴμοι τὸ μετάφρενον.

ΤΙΜΩΝ

5 Μὴ κέκραχθι· κατοίσω γὰρ σοι καὶ τρίτην· ἐπεὶ καὶ γελοῖα πάμπαν ἂν πάθοιμι δύο μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων μοίρας κατακόψας ἄνοπλος, ἐν δὲ μιὰρὸν ἀνθρώπιον μὴ ἐπιτρίψας· μάτην γὰρ ἂν εἶην καὶ νενικηκῶς Ὀλύμπια πύξ καὶ πάλην.

Ἄλλὰ τί τοῦτο; οὐ Θρασυκλῆς ὁ φιλόσοφος οὗτός ἐστιν; οὐ μὲν 54 οὖν ἄλλος· ἐκπετάσας γοῦν τὸν πῶγωνα καὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀνατείνας καὶ βρενθυόμενός τι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔρχεται, τιτανῶδες βλέπων, ἀνασσεσθημένος τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ μετώπῳ κόμην, Αὐτοβορέας τις ἢ Τρίτων, οἶους ὁ Ζεῦξις ἔγραψεν. οὗτος ὁ τὸ σχῆμα εὐσταλὴς καὶ κόσμιος τὸ βάδισμα καὶ σωφρονικὸς τὴν ἀναβολὴν ἔωθεν μυρία ὅσα περὶ 15 ἀρετῆς διεξιὼν καὶ τῶν ἡδονῇ χαιρόντων κατηγορῶν καὶ τὸ ὀλιγαρκὲς ἐπαινῶν, ἐπειδὴ λουσάμενος ἀφίκοιτο ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ ὁ παῖς μεγάλην τὴν κύλικα ὀρέξειεν αὐτῷ τῷ ζωροτέρῳ δὲ χαίρει μάλιστα καθάπερ τὸ Λήθης ὕδωρ ἐκπιὼν ἐναντιώτατα ἐπιδείκνυται τοῖς ἐωθινοῖς ἐκείνοις λόγοις, προαρπάζων ὥσπερ ἵκτινος τὰ 20 ὄψα καὶ τὸν πλησίον παραγκωνιζόμενος, καρύκης τὸ γένειον ἀνάπλεως, κυνηδὸν ἐμφορούμενος, ἐπικεκυφῶς καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς λοιπάσι τὴν ἀρετὴν εὐρήσειν προσδοκῶν, ἀκριβῶς τὰ τρύβλια τῷ λιχανῶι ἀποσμήχων ὥς μηδὲ ὀλίγον τοῦ μυττωτοῦ καταλίποι, μεμφίμοιρος 55 αἶ, κἂν τὸν πλακοῦντα ὅλον ἢ τὸν σὺν μόνος τῶν ἄλλων λάβῃ, ἢ 25 ὁ τι περ λιχνείας καὶ ἀπληστίας ὄφελος, μέθυσος καὶ πάροις οὐκ

24 λάβῃ Dindorf: λάβοι M 25 ἢ ὁ τι περ Hemsterhuis: ὁ τι περ M

ἄχρι ὠιδῆς καὶ ὀρχηστῦος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λοιδορίας καὶ ὀργῆς. προσέτι καὶ λόγοι πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κύλικι, τότε δὴ καὶ μάλιστα, περὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ κοσμιότητος· καὶ ταῦτα φησιν ἥδη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀκράτου πονηρῶς ἔχων καὶ ὑποτραυλίζων γελοιῶς· εἶτα ἔμετος 5 ἐπὶ τούτοις· καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον, ἀράμενοι τινες ἐκφέρουσιν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ συμποσίου τῆς αὐλητρίδος ἀμφοτέραις ἐπειλημμένον. πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ νήφων οὐδενὶ τῶν πρωτείων παραχωρήσειεν ἄν ψεύσμα- τος ἕνεκα ἢ θρασύτητος ἢ φιλαργυρίας· ἀλλὰ καὶ κολάκων ἐστὶ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ ἐπιорκεῖ προχειρότατα, καὶ ἡ γοητεία προηγεῖται καὶ ἡ ἀναισχυντία παρομαρτεῖ, καὶ ὅλως πάνσοφόν τι χρῆμα καὶ παν- 10 ταχόθεν ἀκριβὲς καὶ ποικίλως ἐντελές. οἰμώζεται τοιγαροῦν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν χρηστὸς ὢν. τί τοῦτο; παπαί, χρόνιος ἡμῖν Θρασυκλῆς.

## ΘΡΑΣΥΚΛΗΣ

- 56 Οὐ κατὰ ταῦτά, ὦ Τίμων, τοῖς πολλοῖς τούτοις ἀφῆγμαι, ὥσπερ οἱ τὸν πλοῦτόν σου τεθηπότες ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου καὶ δείπ- 15 νων πολυτελῶν ἐλπίδι συνδεδραμηκάσι, πολλὴν τὴν κολακείαν ἐπι- δειξόμενοι πρὸς ἄνδρα οἷον σὲ ἀπλοϊκὸν καὶ τῶν ὄντων κοινωνικόν· οἷσθα γὰρ ὡς μᾶζα μὲν ἐμοὶ δεῖπνον ἱκανόν, ὄψον δὲ ἡδιστον θύμον ἢ κάρδαμον ἢ εἴ ποτε τρυφώην, ὀλίγον τῶν ἁλῶν· ποτὸν δὲ ἢ ἐννεάκρουνος· ὁ δὲ τρίβων οὗτος ἥς βούλει πορφυρίδος ἀμείνων. τὸ χρυσίον μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν τιμιώτερον τῶν ἐν τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς ψηφίδων 20 μοι δοκεῖ. σοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ χάριν ἐστάλην, ὡς μὴ διαφθείρῃ σε τὸ κάκ- ιστον τοῦτο καὶ ἐπιβουλότατον κτῆμα ὁ πλοῦτος, ὁ πολλοῖς πολ- λάκις αἴτιος ἀνηκέστων συμφορῶν γεγενημένος· εἰ γάρ μοι πείθοιο, μάλιστα μὲν ὅλον ἐς τὴν θάλατταν ἐμβαλεῖς αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἀναγκαῖον ἄνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ ὄντα καὶ τὸν φιλοσοφίας πλοῦτον ὄραν δυναμένω· 25 μὴ μέντοι ἐς βάθος, ὦγαθέ, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐς βουβῶνας ἐπεμβὰς ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς κυματωγῆς, ἐμοῦ ὀρώντος μόνου· εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο βούλει, 57 σὺ δὲ ἄλλον τρόπον ἀμείνω κατὰ τάχος ἐκφόρησον αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας μηδ' ὀβολὸν αὐτῷ ἀνείς, διαδιδούς ἅπανσι τοῖς δεομένοις, ὧι μὲν πέντε δραχμάς, ὧι δὲ μνᾶν, ὧι δὲ ἡμιτάλαντον· εἰ δὲ τις φιλόσο- 30 φος εἴη, διμοιρίαν ἢ τριμοιρίαν φέρεσθαι δίκαιος· ἐμοὶ δὲ καίτοι οὐκ ἔμαυτοῦ χάριν αἰτῶ, ἀλλ' ὅπως μεταδῶ τῶν ἐταίρων τοῖς δεομένοις – ἱκανὸν εἰ ταυτηνὶ τὴν πῆραν ἐμπλήσας παράσχοις οὐδὲ ὅλους δύο μεδίμνους χωροῦσαν Αἰγινητικούς. ὀλιγαρκῆ δὲ καὶ μέτριον χρῆ 35 εἶναι τὸν φιλοσοφοῦντα καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὲρ τὴν πῆραν φρονεῖν.

## ΤΙΜΩΝ

Ἐπαινῶ ταῦτά σου, ὦ Θρασύκλεις· πρὸ δ' οὖν τῆς πῆρας, εἰ δοκεῖ, φέρε σοι τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐμπλήσω κονδύλων ἐπιμετρήσας τῇ δικέλλῃ.

## ΘΡΑΣΥΚΛΗΣ

ὦ δημοκρατία καὶ νόμοι, παιόμεθα ὑπὸ τοῦ καταράτου ἐν ἐλευθέρῃ τῇ πόλει.

## ΤΙΜΩΝ

- 5 Τί ἀγανακτεῖς, ὦγαθέ; μὲν παρακέκρουσμαί σε; καὶ μὴν ἐπεμβαλῶ χοίνικας ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον τέτταρας. ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο; πολλοὶ συνέρ- 58 χονται· Βλεψίας ἐκεῖνος καὶ Λάχης καὶ Γνίφων καὶ ὅλον τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν οἰμωζομένων. ὥστε τί οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν πέτρην ταύτην ἀνελθὼν τὴν μὲν δέκελλαν ὀλίγον ἀναπαύω πάλαι πεπονηκυῖαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁτι 10 πλείστους λίθους συμφορῆσας ἐπιχαλαζῶ πόρρωθεν αὐτούς;

## ΒΛΕΨΙΑΣ

Μὴ βάλλε, ὦ Τίμων· ἄπιμεν γάρ.

## ΤΙΜΩΝ

Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἀναιμωτί γε ὑμεῖς οὐδὲ ἄνευ τραυμάτων.

1 δ' οὖν Jacobitz: γοῦν M 7 ὅλον Mehler: ὅλως M

## VII ΕΝΑΛΙΟΙ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΙ

### I ΔΩΡΙΔΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΛΑΤΕΙΑΣ

#### ΔΩΡΙΣ

- 1 Καλὸν ἔραστήν, ὦ Γαλάτεια, τὸν Σικελὸν τοῦτον ποιμένα φασὶν ἐπιμενηνέναι σοί.

#### ΓΑΛΑΤΕΙΑ

Μὴ σκῶπτε, Δωρί· Ποσειδῶνος γὰρ υἱὸς ἐστίν, ὅποῖος ἂν ᾔη.

#### ΔΩΡΙΣ

Τί οὖν; εἰ καὶ τοῦ Διὸς αὐτοῦ παῖς ὦν ἄγριος οὕτως καὶ λάσιος ἐφαίνετο καί, τὸ πάντων ἄμορφότατον, μονόφθαλμος, οἶε τὸ γένος ἂν τι ὄνῃσαι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν μορφήν; 5

#### ΓΑΛΑΤΕΙΑ

Οὐδὲ τὸ λάσιον αὐτοῦ καί, ὥς φῆις, ἄγριον ἄμορφόν ἐστίν ἀνδρῶδες γάρ—ὃ τε ὀφθαλμὸς ἐπιπρέπει τῷ μετώπῳ οὐδὲν ἐνδεέστερον ὁρῶν ἢ εἰ δὴ ᾔσαν.

#### ΔΩΡΙΣ

Ἔοικας, ὦ Γαλάτεια, οὐκ ἔραστήν ἀλλ' ἐρώμενον ἔχειν τὸν Πολύφην— 10 μόν, οἷα ἐπαινεῖς αὐτόν.

#### ΓΑΛΑΤΕΙΑ

- 2 Οὐκ ἐρώμενον, ἀλλὰ τὸ πάνυ ὀνειδιστικὸν τοῦτο οὐ φέρω ὑμῶν, καί μοι δοκεῖτε ὑπὸ φθόνου αὐτὸ ποιεῖν, ὅτι ποιμαίνων ποτὲ ἀπὸ τῆς σκοπῆς παιζούσας ἡμᾶς ἰδὼν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος ἐν τοῖς πρόποσι τῆς Αἴτνης, καθ' ὃ μεταξὺ τοῦ ὄρους καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης αἰγιαλὸς 15

ἀπομηκύνεται, ὑμᾶς μὲν οὐδὲ προσέβλεψεν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐξ ἀπασῶν ἢ καλλίστη ἔδοξα, καὶ μόνη ἐμοὶ ἐπέιχε τὸν ὀφθαλμόν. ταῦτα ὑμᾶς ἀνιᾶν· δεῖγμα γὰρ ὥς ἀμείνων εἰμὶ καὶ ἀξιέραστος, ὑμεῖς δὲ παρώφθητε.

#### ΔΩΡΙΣ

- 5 Εἰ ποιμένι καὶ ἐνδεεῖ τὴν ὄψιν καλὴ ἔδοξας, ἐπίφθονος οἶε γεγονέναι; καίτοι τί ἄλλο ἐν σοὶ ἐπαιnéσαι εἶχεν ἢ τὸ λευκὸν μόνον; καὶ τοῦτο, οἶμαι, ὅτι συνήθης ἐστὶ τυρῶι καὶ γάλακτι· πάντα οὖν τὰ ὅμοια 3 τοῦτοις ἡγεῖται καλά. ἐπεὶ τὰ γε ἄλλα ὁπόταν ἐθελήσης μαθεῖν, οἷα τυγχάνεις οὔσα τὴν ὄψιν, ἀπὸ πέτρας τινός, εἴ ποτε γαλήνη 10 εἶη, ἐπικύψασα εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ ἰδὲ σεαυτὴν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ χροάν λευκὴν ἀκριβῶς· οὐκ ἐπαινεῖται δὲ τοῦτο, ἦν μὴ ἐπιπρέπει αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἐρύθημα.

#### ΓΑΛΑΤΕΙΑ

- Καὶ μὴν ἐγὼ μὲν ἢ ἀκράτως λευκὴ ὅμως ἔραστήν ἔχω κἂν τοῦτον, ὑμῶν δὲ οὐκ ἐστίν ἡντινα ἢ ποιμήν ἢ ναύτης ἢ πορθμεὺς ἐπαινεῖ· ὃ 15 δέ γε Πολύφημος τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ μουσικὸς ἐστίν.

#### ΔΩΡΙΣ

- Σιώπα, ὦ Γαλάτεια· ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ αἰδοντος ὁπότε ἐκώμασε 4 πρώην ἐπὶ σέ· Ἀφροδίτη φίλη, ὄνον ἂν τις ὀγκᾶσθαι ἔδοξεν. καὶ αὕτη δὲ ἢ πηκτὶς οἷα; κρανίον ἐλάφου γυμνὸν τῶν σαρκῶν, καὶ τὰ μὲν κέρατα πῆχεις ὥσπερ ἦσαν, ζυγώσας δ' αὐτὰ καὶ ἐνάψας 20 τὰ νεῦρα, οὐδὲ κολλάβοις περιστρέψας, ἐμελῶιδει ἄμουσόν τι καὶ ἀπωιδόν, ἄλλο μὲν αὐτὸς βοῶν, ἄλλο δὲ ἢ λύρα ὑπῆχει, ὥστε οὐδὲ κατέχειν τὸν γέλωτα ἐδυνάμεθα ἐπὶ τῷ ἐρωτικῷ ἐκείνῳ αἰσματι· ἢ μὲν γὰρ Ἥχῳ οὐδὲ ἀποκρίνεσθαι αὐτῷ ἠθέλεν οὕτω λάλος οὔσα βρυχωμένῳ, ἀλλ' ἠισχύνετο, εἰ φανείη μιμουμένη τραχεῖαν ὠιδὴν 5 25 καὶ καταγέλαστον. ἔφερεν δὲ ὁ ἐπέραστος ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις ἀθυρμάτιον ἄρκτου σκύλακα τὸ λάσιον αὐτῷ προσεικόμενον. τίς οὐκ ἂν φθονήσῃ σοι, ὦ Γαλάτεια, τοιοῦτου ἐραστοῦ;

## ΓΑΛΑΤΕΙΑ

Οὐκοῦν σύ, Δωρί, δείξον ἡμῖν τὸν σεαυτῆς, καλλίω δῆλον ὅτι ὄντα  
καὶ ὠιδικώτερον καὶ κιθαρίζειν ἄμεινον ἐπιστάμενον.

## ΔΩΡΙΣ

Ἄλλὰ ἐραστής μὲν οὐδεὶς ἔστι μοι οὐδὲ σεμνύνομαι ἐπέρastos εἶναι·  
τοιοῦτος δὲ οἶος ὁ Κύκλωψ ἐστίν, κινάβρας ἀπόζων ὥσπερ ὁ τράγος,  
ὠμοβόρος, ὥς φασι, καὶ αἰτούμενος τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας τῶν ξένων,  
σοὶ γένοιτο καὶ πάντοτε σὺν ἀντερώϊης αὐτοῦ.

## 2 ΚΥΚΛΩΠΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΟΣ

## ΚΥΚΛΩΨ

1 ὦ πάτερ, οἷα πέπονθα ὑπὸ τοῦ καταράτου ξένου, ὃς μεθύσας  
ἐξετύφλωσέ με κοιμωμένω ἐπιχειρήσας.

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

Τίς δὲ ἦν ὁ ταῦτα τολμήσας, ὦ Πολύφημε;

## ΚΥΚΛΩΨ

Τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Οὐτὶν αὐτὸν ἀπεκάλει, ἐπεὶ δὲ διέφυγε καὶ ἔξω ἦν  
βέλους, Ὀδυσσεὺς ὀνομάζεσθαι ἔφη.

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

Οἶδα ὃν λέγεις, τὸν Ἰθακήσιον· ἐξ Ἰλίου δ' ἀνέπλει. ἀλλὰ πῶς ταῦτα  
ἔπραξεν οὐδὲ πάνυ εὐθαρσῆς ὢν;

## ΚΥΚΛΩΨ

2 Κατέλαβον ἐν τῷ ἄντρωι ἀπὸ τῆς νομῆς ἀναστρέψας πολλοὺς  
τινας, ἐπιβουλεύοντας δῆλον ὅτι τοῖς ποιμνίοις· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐπέθηκα  
τῇ θύρῃ τὸ πῶμα πέτρα δὲ ἐστὶ μοι παμμεγέθης καὶ τὸ πῦρ  
ἀνέκαυσά ἐναυσάμενος ὃ ἔφερον δένδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους, ἐφάνησαν  
ἀποκρύπτειν αὐτοὺς πειρώμενοι· ἐγὼ δὲ συλλαβὼν τινας αὐτῶν,  
ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν κατέφαγον ληιστάς γε ὄντας. ἐνταῦθα ὁ πανουργ-

ότατος ἐκεῖνος, εἴτε Οὐτὶς εἴτε Ὀδυσσεὺς ἦν, δίδωσί μοι πιεῖν  
φάρμακόν τι ἐγγέας, ἡδὺ μὲν καὶ εὐώδες, ἐπιβουλότατον δὲ καὶ  
ταραχωδέστατον· ἅπαντα γὰρ εὐθύς ἐδόκει μοι περιφέρεισθαι πιόντι  
καὶ τὸ σπήλαιον αὐτὸ ἀνεστρέφετο καὶ οὐκέτι ὅλως ἐν ἑμαυτοῦ ἦν,  
5 τέλος δὲ εἰς ὕπνον κατεσπάσθη. ὁ δὲ ἀποξύνας τὸν μοχλὸν καὶ  
πυρώσας προσέτι ἐτύφλωσέ με καθεύδοντα, καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τυφλὸς  
εἰμί σοι, ὦ Πόσειδον.

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

ὥς βαθὺν ἐκοιμήθης, ὦ τέκνον, ὃς οὐκ ἐξέθορες μεταξὺ τυφλούμενος.  
ὁ δ' οὖν Ὀδυσσεὺς πῶς διέφυγεν; οὐ γὰρ ἂν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι ἡδυνήθη  
ἀποκινήσαι τὴν πέτραν ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας.

## ΚΥΚΛΩΨ

Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ ἀφείλον, ὥς μάλλον αὐτὸν λάβοιμι ἐξιόντα, καὶ καθίσας  
παρὰ τὴν θύραν ἐθήρων τὰς χεῖρας ἐκπετάσας, μόνῃ παρὲς τὰ πρό-  
βατα εἰς τὴν νομὴν, ἐντειλάμενος τῷ κριῶϊ ὅσα ἐχρῆν πράττειν  
αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ.

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

3 Μανθάνω· ὑπ' ἐκείνοις ἔλαθον ὑπεξεληθόντες· σὲ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους Κύκλω-  
πας ἔδει ἐπιβοήσασθαι ἐπ' αὐτόν.

## ΚΥΚΛΩΨ

Συνεκάλεσα, ὦ πάτερ, καὶ ἦκον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤροντο τοῦ ἐπιβουλεύσαντος  
τοῦνομα κἀγὼ ἔφην ὅτι Οὐτὶς ἐστὶ, μελαγχολᾷν οἰηθέντες με ἀπιόν-  
τες ὠιχοντο. οὕτω κατεσοφίσάτο με ὁ κατάρατος τῷ ὀνόματι. καὶ  
4 ὁ μάλιστα ἠνίασέ με, ὅτι καὶ ὀνειδίζων ἐμοὶ τὴν συμφοράν, Οὐδὲ ὁ  
πατήρ, φησὶν, ὁ Ποσειδῶν ἰάσεται σε.

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

Θάρρει, ὦ τέκνον· ἀμυνοῦμαι γὰρ αὐτόν, ὥς μάθῃ ὅτι, εἰ καὶ πῆρ-  
ωσὶν μοι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἰᾶσθαι ἀδύνατον, τὰ γοῦν τῶν πλεόντων  
ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ἐστὶ· πλεῖ δὲ ἔτι.

## 3 ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΦΕΙΟΥ

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

1 Τί τοῦτο, ὦ Ἀλφεΐε; μόνος τῶν ἄλλων ἐμπεσὼν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος οὔτε ἀναμίγνυσαι τῇ ἅλμῃ, ὡς νόμος ποταμοῖς ἅπασιν, οὔτε ἀναπαύεις σεαυτὸν διαχυθεὶς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης συνεστῶς καὶ γλυκὺ φυλάττων τὸ ρεῖθρον, ἀμιγῆς ἔτι καὶ καθαρὸς ἐπείγῃ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπου βύθιος ὑποδὺς καθάπερ οἱ λάροι καὶ ἔρωιδιοί; καὶ ἔοικας ἀνακύψειν 5 που καὶ αὖθις ἀναφανεῖν σεαυτόν.

## ΑΛΦΕΙΟΣ

Ἐρωτικόν τι τὸ πρᾶγμά ἐστιν, ὦ Πόσειδον, ὥστε μὴ ἔλεγχε· ἡράσθης δὲ πολλάκις καὶ αὐτός.

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

Γυναικὸς οὖν, ὦ Ἀλφεΐε, ἢ νύμφης ἐραῖς ἢ καὶ τῶν Νηρείδων ἀλίας;

## ΑΛΦΕΙΟΣ

Οὐκ, ἀλλὰ πηγῆς, ὦ Πόσειδον.

10

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

Ἡ δὲ ποῦ σοι τῆς γῆς αὕτη ρεῖ;

## ΑΛΦΕΙΟΣ

Νησιῶτίς ἐστι Σικελή· Ἀρέθουσαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζουσιν.

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

2 Οἶδα οὐκ ἄμορφον, ὦ Ἀλφεΐε, τὴν Ἀρέθουσαν, ἀλλὰ διαυγῆς ἐστὶ καὶ διὰ καθαροῦ ἀναβλύζει καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπιπρέπει ταῖς ψηφῖσιν ὅλον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν φαινόμενον ἀργυροειδές.

15

## ΑΛΦΕΙΟΣ

ὣς ἀληθῶς οἶσθα τὴν πηγὴν, ὦ Πόσειδον· παρ' ἐκείνην οὖν ἀπέρχομαι.

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

Ἄλλ' ἄπιθι μὲν καὶ εὐτύχει ἐν τῷ ἔρωτι· ἐκείνο δέ μοι εἰπέ, ποῦ τὴν Ἀρέθουσαν εἶδες αὐτὸς μὲν Ἀρκὰς ὢν, ἢ δὲ ἐν Συρακούσσαις ἐστίν;

## ΑΛΦΕΙΟΣ

5 Ἐπειγόμενόν με κατέχεις, ὦ Πόσειδον, περίεργα ἔρωτῶν.

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

Εὖ λέγεις· χώρει παρὰ τὴν ἀγαπωμένην, καὶ ἀναδὺς ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης συναναμίγνυσσο τῇ πηγῇ καὶ ἐν ὕδωρ γίνεσθε.

## 4 ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΩΤΕΩΣ

## ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ

Ἄλλὰ ὕδωρ μὲν σε γίνεσθαι, ὦ Πρωτεῦ, οὐκ ἀπίθανον, ἐνάλιόν γε 1 ὄντα, καὶ δένδρον ἔτι φορητόν, καὶ εἰς λέοντα δὲ εἴ πως ἀλλαγείης, 2 ὅμως οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἔξω πίστεως· εἰ δὲ καὶ πῦρ γίνεσθαι δυνατὸν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ οἰκοῦντά σε, τοῦτο πάνυ θαυμάζω καὶ ἀπιστῶ.

## ΠΡΩΤΕΥΣ

Μὴ θαυμάσης, ὦ Μενέλαε· γίγνομαι γάρ.

## ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ

Εἶδον καὶ αὐτός· ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖς — εἰρήσεται γὰρ πρὸς σέ 3 γοητεῖαν τινὰ προσάγειν τῷ πράγματι καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξαπατᾶν τῶν 4 ὁρώντων αὐτὸς οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο γιγνόμενος.

7 θαλάσσης ξυναλία (uel ξυναυλία) μίγνυσσο m

## ΠΡΩΤΕΥΣ

2 Καὶ τίς ἂν ἡ ἀπάτη ἐπὶ τῶν οὕτως ἐναργῶν γένοιτο; οὐκ ἀνεωιγ-  
μένοις τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς εἶδες εἰς ὅσα μετεποίησα ἑμαυτόν; εἰ δὲ ἀπισ-  
τεῖς καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα σοι ψευδὲς εἶναι δοκεῖ, καὶ φαντασία τις πρὸ  
τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἵσταμένη, ἐπειδὴν πῦρ γένωμαι προσένεγκέ μοι, ὦ  
γενναῖε, τὴν χεῖρα· εἴσθι γάρ, εἰ ὀρώμαι μόνον ἢ καὶ τὸ κάειν τότε 5  
μοι πρόσεστιν.

## ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ

Οὐκ ἀσφαλὴς ἡ πείρα, ὦ Πρωτεῦ.

## ΠΡΩΤΕΥΣ

Σὺ δέ μοι, ὦ Μενέλαε, δοκεῖς οὐδὲ πολύποδα ἑωρακέναι πώποτε οὐδὲ  
ἃ πάσχει ὁ ἰχθύς οὗτος εἰδέναι.

## ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ

Ἄλλὰ τῶν μὲν πολύποδα εἶδον, ἃ δὲ πάσχει, ἡδέως ἂν μάθοιμι παρὰ 10  
σοῦ.

## ΠΡΩΤΕΥΣ

3 Ὅποια ἂν πέτραι προσελθὼν ἄρμόσῃ τὰς κοτύλας καὶ προσφύς  
ἔχῃται κατὰ τὰς πλεκτάνας, ἐκείνη ὅμοιον ἐργάζεται ἑαυτὸν καὶ  
μεταβάλλει τὴν χροάν μιμούμενος τὴν πέτραν, ὥς λανθάνειν τοὺς  
ἀλιεῖς μὴ διαλλάττων μηδὲ ἐπίσημος ὢν διὰ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἐοικώς τῷ 15  
λίθῳ.

## ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ

Φασὶ ταῦτα· τὸ δὲ σὸν πολλῶι παραδοξότερον, ὦ Πρωτεῦ.

## ΠΡΩΤΕΥΣ

Οὐκ οἶδα, ὦ Μενέλαε, ὥτινι ἂν ἄλλῳ πιστεύσειας, τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ  
ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀπιστῶν.

## ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ

Εἶδον· ἀλλὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα τεράστιον, ὁ αὐτὸς πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ. 20

## 5 ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΛΦΙΝΩΝ

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

Εὖ γε, ὦ δελφῖνες, ὅτι ἀεὶ φιλάνθρωποί ἐστε, καὶ πάλαι μὲν τὸ τῆς 1  
Ἰνου παιδίον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐκομίσασθε ὑποδεξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν Σκιρ-  
ωνίδων μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἐμπεσόν, καὶ νῦν σὺ τὸν κιθαρῳιδὸν τουτονὶ  
τὸν ἐκ Μηθύμνης ἀναλαβὼν ἐξενήξω ἐς Ταίναρον αὐτῇ σκευῇ καὶ  
5 κιθάραι, οὐδὲ περιεῖδες κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ναυτῶν ἀπολλύμενον.

## ΔΕΛΦΙΣ

Μὴ θαυμάσῃς, ὦ Πόσειδον, εἰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εὖ ποιοῦμεν  
ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἰχθύες γενόμενοι. καὶ μέμφομαί γε  
τῷ Διονύσῳ, ὅτι ἡμᾶς καταναυμαχήσας καὶ μετέβαλε, δέον  
χειρώσασθαι μόνον, ὥσπερ τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπηγάγετο.

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

10 Πῶς δ' οὖν τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀρίονα τοῦτον ἐγένετο, ὦ δελφίν;

## ΔΕΛΦΙΣ

Ὁ Περίανδρος, οἶμαι, ἔχαιρεν αὐτῷ καὶ πολλάκις μετεπέμπετο αὐτὸν 2  
ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ, ὃ δὲ πλουτήσας παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου ἐπεθύμη-  
σεν πλεύσας οἶκαδε εἰς τὴν Μήθυμναν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὸν πλοῦτον,  
καὶ ἐπιβὰς πορθμείου τινὸς κακούργων ἀνδρῶν ὥς ἔδειξεν πολὺν  
15 ἄγων χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον, ἐπεὶ κατὰ μέσον τὸ Αἰγαῖον ἐγένετο,  
ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ ναῦται· ὃ δέ — ἡκροώμην γάρ ἅπαντα  
παρανέων τῷ σκάφει ἔπει ταῦτα ὑμῖν δέδοκται, ἔφη, ἀλλὰ τὴν  
σκευὴν ἀναλαβόντα με καὶ ἄισαντα θρῆνόν τινα ἐπ' ἑμαυτῷ ἐκόντα  
20 καὶ ἦισε πάνυ λιγυρόν, καὶ ἔπεσεν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ὥς αὐτίκα πάν-  
τως ἀποθανούμενος· ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν καὶ ἀναθέμενος αὐτὸν ἐξεν-  
ηγάμην ἔχων εἰς Ταίναρον.

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

Ἐπαινῶ σε τῆς φιλομουσίας· ἄξιον γὰρ τὸν μισθὸν ἀπέδωκας αὐτῷ  
τῆς ἀκροάσεως.

## 6 ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΗΡΕΙΔΩΝ

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

1 Τὸ μὲν στενὸν τοῦτο, ἔνθα ἡ παῖς κατηνέχθη, Ἑλλήσποντος ἀπ' αὐτῆς καλείσθω· τὸν δὲ νεκρὸν ὑμεῖς, ὦ Νηρεΐδες, παραλαβοῦσαι τῇ Τρωιάδι προσενέγκατε, ὡς ταφείη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων.

## ΑΜΦΙΤΡΙΤΗ

Μηδαμῶς, ὦ Πόσειδον, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῷ ἐπωνύμῳι πελάγει τεθάφθω· ἔλεοῦμεν γὰρ αὐτὴν οἴκτιστα ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς πεπον- 5 θυῖαν.

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

Τοῦτο μὲν, ὦ Ἀμφιτρίτη, οὐ θέμις· οὐδὲ ἄλλως καλὸν ἐνταῦθ' ἀπο- κεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῇ ψάμμῳι αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἔφην ἐν τῇ Τρωιάδι ἢ ἐν τῇ Χερρονήσῳι τεθάψεται. ἐκεῖνο δὲ παραμύθιον οὐ μικρὸν ἔσται αὐτῇ, ὅτι μετ' ὀλίγον τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἡ Ἰνώ πείσεται καὶ ἐμπεσεῖται ὑπὸ 10 τοῦ Ἀθάμαντος διωκομένη εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἀπ' ἄκρου τοῦ Κιθαιρώωνος, καθ' ὅπερ καθήκει ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, ἔχουσα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγκάλῃς. ἀλλὰ κακείνην σῶσαι δεήσει χαρισαμένους τῷ Διονύσῳι· τροφὸς γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τίτθῃ ἡ Ἰνώ.

## ΑΜΦΙΤΡΙΤΗ

2 Οὐκ ἔχρην οὕτω πονηρὰν οὔσαν.

15

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

Ἀλλὰ τῷ Διονύσῳι ἀχαριστεῖν, ὦ Ἀμφιτρίτη, οὐκ ἄξιον.

## ΝΗΡΕΙΔΕΣ

Αὕτη δὲ ἄρα τί παθοῦσα κατέπεσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κριοῦ, ὁ ἀδελφὸς δὲ ὁ Φρίξος ἀσφαλῶς ὀχεῖται;

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

Εἰκότως· νεανίας γάρ, καὶ δύναται ἀντέχειν πρὸς τὴν φορὰν, ἡ δὲ ὑπ' ἀηθείας ἐπιβᾶσα ὀχήματος παραδόξου καὶ ἀπιδοῦσα ἐς βάθος 20

ἀχανές, ἐκπλαγεῖσα καὶ τῷ θάμβει ἅμα συσχεθεῖσα καὶ ἰλιγγιάσασα πρὸς τὸ σφοδρὸν τῆς πτήσεως ἀκρατῆς ἐγένετο τῶν κεράτων τοῦ κριοῦ, ὧν τέως ἐπέληπτο, καὶ κατέπεσεν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος.

## ΝΗΡΕΙΔΕΣ

Οὐκοῦν ἔχρην τὴν μητέρα τὴν Νεφέλην βοηθῆσαι πιπτούσῃ.

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

5 Ἐχρην· ἀλλ' ἡ Μοῖρα τῆς Νεφέλης πολλῶι δυνατωτέρα.

## 7 ΠΑΝΟΠΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΛΗΝΗΣ

## ΠΑΝΟΠΗ

Εἶδες, ὦ Γαλήνη, χθές οἷα ἐποίησεν ἡ Ἔρις παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐν Θετ- 10 ταλῖαι, διότι μὴ καὶ αὕτη ἐκλήθη εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον;

## ΓΑΛΗΝΗ

Οὐ συνειστιώμην ὑμῖν ἔγωγε· ὁ γὰρ Ποσειδῶν ἐκέλευσέ με, ὦ Πανόπη, ἀκύμαντον ἐν τοσούτῳ φυλάττειν τὸ πέλαγος. τί δ' οὖν 10 ἐποίησεν ἡ Ἔρις μὴ παροῦσα;

## ΠΑΝΟΠΗ

Ἡ Θέτις μὲν ἤδη καὶ ὁ Πηλεὺς ἀπεληλύθεισαν ἐς τὸν θάλαμον ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀμφιτρίτης καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος παραπεμφθέντες, ἡ Ἔρις δὲ ἐν τοσούτῳ λαθοῦσα πάντας – ἐδυνήθη δὲ ῥαϊδίως, τῶν μὲν πινόντων, ἐνίων δὲ κροτούντων ἢ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι κιθαρίζοντι ἢ ταῖς Μούσαις 15 αἰδούσαις προσεχόντων τὸν νοῦν – ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τὸ συμπόσιον μῆλόν τι πάγκαλον, χρυσοῦν ὄλον, ὦ Γαλήνη· ἐπεγέγραπτο δὲ “Ἡ καλὴ λαβέτω”. κυλινδούμενον δὲ τοῦτο ὥσπερ ἐξεπίτηδες ἦκεν ἔνθα Ἦρα τε καὶ Ἀφροδίτη καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ κατεκλίνοντο. κάπειδ' ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἀνελό- 20 μενος ἐπελέξατο τὰ γεγραμμένα, αἱ μὲν Νηρεΐδες ἡμεῖς ἐσιωπήσαμεν. τί γὰρ ἔδει ποιεῖν ἐκείνων παρουσῶν; αἱ δὲ ἀντεπιοῦντο ἐκάστη καὶ αὐτῆς εἶναι τὸ μῆλον ἡξίου, καὶ εἰ μὴ γε ὁ Ζεὺς διέστησεν αὐτάς, καὶ ἄχρι χειρῶν ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα προὔχωρησεν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος, Αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ κρινῶ, φησί, περὶ τούτου· καίτοι ἐκεῖναι αὐτὸν δικάσαι ἡξίου – 25 ἄπιτε δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰδην παρὰ τὸν Πριάμου παῖδα, ὃς οἶδ' ἐν γε διαγνώναι τὸ κάλλιον φιλόκαλος ὢν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐκεῖνος κρίναι κακῶς.

## ΓΑΛΗΝΗ

Τί οὖν αἱ θεαί, ὦ Πανόπη;

## ΠΑΝΟΠΗ

Τήμερον, οἶμαι, ἀπίασιν εἰς τὴν Ἰδην, καὶ τις ἤξει μετὰ μικρὸν ἀπαγγέλλων ἡμῖν τὴν κρατοῦσαν.

## ΓΑΛΗΝΗ

Ἦδη σοί φημι, οὐκ ἄλλη κρατήσῃ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀγωνιζομένης, ἢν μὴ πάνυ ὁ δικαστὴς ἀμβλυώττηι.

5

## 8 ΤΡΙΤΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΟΣ

## ΤΡΙΤΩΝ

1 Ἐπὶ τὴν Λέρναν, ὦ Πόσειδον, παραγίνεται καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ὑδρευσομένη παρθένος, πάγκαλόν τι χρῆμα· οὐκ οἶδα ἔγωγε καλλίω παῖδα ἰδών.

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

Ἐλευθέραν τινά, ὦ Τρίτων, λέγεις, ἢ θεράπαινά τις ὑδροφόρος ἐστίν;

## ΤΡΙΤΩΝ

Οὐ μὲν οὖν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου ἐκείνου θυγάτηρ, μία τῶν πεν- 10 τήκοντα καὶ αὐτή, Ἀμυμῶνη τοῦνομα· ἐπυθόμην γὰρ ἥτις καλεῖται καὶ τὸ γένος. ὁ Δαναὸς δὲ σκληραγωγεῖ τὰς θυγατέρας καὶ αὐτουργεῖν διδάσκει καὶ πέμπει ὕδωρ τε ἀρυσομένας καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα παιδεύει ἀόκνους εἶναι αὐτάς.

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

2 Μόνη δὲ παραγίνεται μακρὰν οὕτω τὴν ὁδὸν ἐξ Ἄργους εἰς Λέρναν; 15

## ΤΡΙΤΩΝ

Μόνη· πολυδίψιον δὲ τὸ Ἄργος, ὥς οἶσθα· ὥστε ἀνάγκη αἰεὶ ὑδροφορεῖν.

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

ὦ Τρίτων, οὐ μετρίως με διετάραξας περὶ τῆς παιδὸς εἰπών· ὥστε ἴωμεν ἐπ' αὐτήν.

## ΤΡΙΤΩΝ

Ἰωμεν· ἤδη γὰρ καιρὸς τῆς ὑδροφορίας· καὶ σχεδὸν που κατὰ μέσσην τὴν ὁδὸν ἐστὶν ἰοῦσα ἐς τὴν Λέρναν.

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

5 Οὐκοῦν ζεῦξον τὸ ἄρμα· ἢ τοῦτο μὲν πολλὴν ἔχει τὴν διατριβὴν ὑπάγειν τοὺς ἵππους τῇ ζεύγλῃ καὶ τὸ ἄρμα ἐπισκευάζειν, σὺ δὲ ἀλλὰ δελφινά μοί τινα τῶν ὠκέων παράστησον· ἀφιππάσομαι γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τάχιστα.

## ΤΡΙΤΩΝ

Ἰδοὺ σοι οὕτοσι δελφίνων ὁ ὠκύτατος.

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

10 Εὔ γε· ἀπελαύνωμεν· σὺ δὲ παρανήχου, ὦ Τρίτων· κόπειδὴ πάρεσ-  
μεν εἰς τὴν Λέρναν, ἐγὼ μὲν λοχήσω ἐνταῦθα που, σὺ δὲ ἀποσκοπεῖ  
όποτεν αἴσθῃι προσιοῦσαν αὐτήν

## ΤΡΙΤΩΝ

Αὕτη σοι πλησίον.

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

Καλή, ὦ Τρίτων, καὶ ὠραία παρθένος· ἀλλὰ συλληπτέα ἡμῖν ἐστίν. 3

## ΑΜΥΜΩΝΗ

15 Ἄνθρωπε, ποῖ συναρπάσας με ἄγεις; ἀνδραποδιστὴς τις εἶ, καὶ ἔοικας ἡμῖν ὑπ' Αἰγύπτου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιτεμφθῆναι· ὥστε βοήσομαι τὸν πατέρα.



## ΤΡΙΤΩΝ

Σιώπησον, ὦ Ἀμυμώνη· Ποσειδῶν ἐστίν.

## ΑΜΥΜΩΝΗ

Τί Ποσειδῶν λέγεις; τί βιάζηι με, ἄνθρωπε, καὶ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν κατέλκεις; ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποπνιγήσομαι ἢ ἀθλία καταδύσασα.

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

Θάρρει, οὐδὲν δεινὸν μὴ πάθῃς· ἀλλὰ καὶ πηγὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀναδοθῆναί σοι ποιήσω ἐνταῦθα πατάξας τῇ τριαίνῃ τὴν πέτραν πλησίων τοῦ κλύσματος, καὶ σὺ εὐδαιμών ἔσῃ καὶ μόνη τῶν ἀδελφῶν οὐχ ὑδροφορήσεις ἀποθανοῦσα.

## 9 ΙΡΙΔΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΟΣ

## ΙΡΙΣ

Ἱ Τὴν νῆσον τὴν πλανωμένην, ὦ Πόσειδον, ἦν ἀποσπασθεῖσαν τῆς Σικελίας ὑφάλον ἔτι νήχεσθαι συμβέβηκεν, ταύτην, φησὶν ὁ Ζεὺς, στῆσον ἤδη καὶ ἀνάφηνον καὶ ποίησον δῆλον ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ μέσῳ 10 βεβαίως μένειν στηρίξας πάνυ ἀσφαλῶς· δεῖται γὰρ τι αὐτῆς.

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

Πεπράξεται ταῦτα, ὦ Ἱρι. τίνα δ' ὅμως παρέξει αὐτῷ τὴν χρεῖαν ἀναφανείσα καὶ μηκέτι πλέουσα;

## ΙΡΙΣ

Τὴν Λητῶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς δεῖ ἀποκυῖσαι· ἤδη δὲ πονηρῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ὠδίνων ἔχει. 15

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

Τί οὖν; οὐχ ἱκανὸς ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐντεκεῖν; εἰ δὲ μὴ οὗτος, ἀλλ' ἢ γε γῆ πᾶσα οὐκ ἂν ὑποδέξασθαι δύναίτο τὰς γονὰς αὐτῆς;

## ΙΡΙΣ

Οὐκ, ὦ Πόσειδον· Ἥρα γὰρ ὄρκῳ μεγάλῳ κατέλαβε τὴν γῆν, μὴ παρασχεῖν τῇ Λητοῖ τῶν ὠδίνων ὑποδοχήν. ἡ τοίνυν νῆσος αὕτη ἀνώμοτός ἐστιν· ἀφανῆς γὰρ ἦν.

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

Συνίημι. στῆθι, ὦ νῆσε, καὶ ἀνάδυσθι ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ καὶ μηκέτι 2 ὑποφέρου, ἀλλὰ βεβαίως μένε καὶ ὑπόδεξαι, ὦ εὐδαιμονεστάτη, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὰ τέκνα δύο, τοὺς καλλίστους τῶν θεῶν· καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὦ Τρίτωνες, διαπορθμεύσατε τὴν Λητῶ ἐς αὐτήν· καὶ γαλήνᾳ ἅπαντα ἔστω. τὸν δράκοντα δέ, ὃς νῦν ἐξοιστρεῖ αὐτὴν φοβῶν, τὰ νεογνὰ ἐπὰν τεχθῇ, αὐτίκα μέτεισι καὶ τιμωρήσει τῇ μητρὶ. σὺ δὲ 10 ἀπάγγελλε τῷ Διὶ ἅπαντα εἶναι εὐτρεπῆ· ἔστηκεν ἡ Δῆλος· ἡκέτω ἡ Λητῶ ἤδη καὶ τικτέτω.

## 10 ΞΑΝΘΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗΣ

## ΞΑΝΘΟΣ

Δέξαι με, ὦ Θάλασσα, δεινὰ πεπονθότα καὶ κατάσβεσόν μου τὰ 1 τραύματα.

## ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑ

Τί τοῦτο, ὦ Ξάνθε; τίς σε κατέκαυσεν;

## ΞΑΝΘΟΣ

15 Ὁ Ἥφαιστος. ἀλλ' ἀπηνθράκωμαι ὁ κακοδαίμων καὶ ζέω.

## ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑ

Διὰ τί δέ σοι καὶ ἐνέβαλε τὸ πῦρ;

## ΞΑΝΘΟΣ

Διὰ τὸν ταύτης υἱὸν τῆς Θέτιδος· ἐπεὶ γὰρ φονεύοντα τοὺς Φρύγας ἱκετεύσας οὐκ ἔπαυσας τῆς ὀργῆς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀπέφραττέ μοι τὸν ῥοῦν, ἔλεήσας τοὺς ἀθλίους ἐπιήλθον ἐπικλύσαι θέλων, ὥς 20 φοβηθεῖς ἀπόσχοιτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ἐνταῦθα ὁ Ἥφαιστος ἔτυχε γὰρ 2

πλησίον που ὦν - πᾶν ὅσον οἶμαι πῦρ εἶχε καὶ ὅσον ἐν τῇ Αἴτνῃ καὶ εἴ ποθι ἄλλοθι φέρων ἐπῆλθέ μοι, καὶ ἔκασσε μὲν τὰς πτελέας μου καὶ μυρίκας, ὥπτῃσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς κακοδαίμονας ἰχθῦς καὶ τὰς ἐγγέλεις, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐμὲ ὑπερκοχλάσαι ποιήσας μικροῦ δεῖν ὅλον ξηρὸν εἶργασται. ὁρᾷς γοῦν ὅπως διάκειμαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγκαυμάτων. 5

## ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑ

Θολερός, ὦ Ξάνθε, καὶ θερμός, ὡς εἰκός, τὸ αἷμα μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν, ἡ θερμὴ δέ, ὡς φῆις, ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρός· καὶ εἰκότως, ὦ Ξάνθε, ὅς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐμὸν υἱὸν ὥρμησας οὐκ αἰδεσθεῖς ὅτι Νηρεΐδος υἱὸς ἦν.

## ΞΑΝΘΟΣ

Οὐκ ἔδει οὖν ἐλεῆσαι γείτονας ὄντας τοὺς Φρύγας;

## ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑ

Τὸν Ἥφαιστον δὲ οὐκ ἔδει ἐλεῆσαι Θέτιδος υἱὸν ὄντα τὸν Ἀχιλλέα; 10

## II ΝΟΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΖΕΦΥΡΟΥ

## ΝΟΤΟΣ

1 Ταύτην, ὦ Ζέφυρε, τὴν δάμαλιν, ἣν διὰ τοῦ πελάγους εἰς Αἴγυπτον ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἄγει, ὁ Ζεὺς διεκόρησεν ἀλοὺς ἔρωτι;

## ΖΕΦΥΡΟΣ

Ναί, ὦ Νότε· οὐ δάμαλις δὲ τότε, ἀλλὰ παῖς ἦν τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἰνάχου· νῦν δὲ ἡ Ἥρα τοιαύτην ἐποίησεν αὐτὴν ζηλοτυπήσασα, ὅτι πάνυ ἐώρα ἔρῳντα τὸν Δία. 15

## ΝΟΤΟΣ

Νῦν δὲ ἔτι ἐρᾷ τῆς βοός;

## ΖΕΦΥΡΟΣ

Καὶ μάλα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὴν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἔπεμψεν καὶ ἡμῖν προσέταξε μὴ κυμαίνειν τὴν θάλασσαν ἔστ' ἂν διανήξεται, ὡς ἀποτεκοῦσα ἐκεῖ - κύει δὲ ἤδη - θεὸς γένοιτο καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ τὸ τεχθέν.

## ΝΟΤΟΣ

Ἡ δάμαλις θεός; 2

## ΖΕΦΥΡΟΣ

Καὶ μάλα, ὦ Νότε· καὶ ἄρξει γάρ, ὡς ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἔφη, τῶν πλεόντων καὶ ἡμῶν ἔσται δέσποινα, ὅντινα ἂν ἡμῶν ἐθέλῃ ἐκπέμψαι ἢ κωλύσαι ἐπιπνεῖν.

## ΝΟΤΟΣ

3 Θεραπευτέα τοιγαροῦν, ὦ Ζέφυρε, ἥδε δέσποινά γε οὔσα νῆ Δία· εὐνουστέρα γάρ ἂν οὕτως γένοιτο.

## ΖΕΦΥΡΟΣ

Ἄλλ' ἤδη γάρ διεπέρασε καὶ ἐξένευσεν ἐς τὴν γῆν. ὁρᾷς ὅπως οὐκέτι μὲν τετραποδιστὶ βαδίζει, ἀνορθώσας δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Ἑρμῆς γυναικαπαγκάλην αὐθις ἐποίησεν;

## ΝΟΤΟΣ

10 Παράδοξα γοῦν ταῦτα, ὦ Ζέφυρε· οὐκέτι κέρατα οὐδὲ οὐρὰ καὶ δίχηλα τὰ σκέλη, ἀλλ' ἐπέραστος κόρη. ὁ μέντοι Ἑρμῆς τί παθὼν μεταβέβληκεν ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀντὶ νεανίου κυνοπρόσωπος γεγένηται;

## ΖΕΦΥΡΟΣ

Μὴ πολυπραγμονῶμεν, ὅτι ἐκείνος ἄμεινον οἶδε τὸ πρακτέον.

## 12 ΔΩΡΙΔΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΤΙΔΟΣ

## ΔΩΡΙΣ

Τί δακρύεις, ὦ Θετί; 1

## ΘΕΤΙΣ

15 Καλλίστην, ὦ Δωρί, κόρην εἶδον ἐς κιβωτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐμβληθεῖσαν, αὐτὴν τε καὶ βρέφος αὐτῆς ἀρτιγέννητον· ἐκέλευσεν δὲ ὁ πατήρ τοὺς ναύτας ἀναλαβόντας τὸ κιβώτιον, ἐπειδὰν πολὺ τῆς

γῆς ἀποσπάρσασιν, ἀφείναι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ὡς ἀπόλοιτο ἡ ἀθλία, καὶ αὕτη καὶ τὸ βρέφος.

## ΔΩΡΙΣ

Τίνος ἔνεκα, ὦ ἀδελφή; εἰπέ, εἴ τι ἔμαθες ἀκριβῶς.

## ΘΕΤΙΣ

Ἀπαντα· ὁ γὰρ Ἀκρίσιος ὁ πατήρ αὐτῆς καλλίστην οὔσαν ἐπαρ-  
θένευεν ἐς χαλκοῦν τινα θάλαμον ἐμβαλὼν· εἴτα, εἰ μὲν ἀληθὲς οὐκ ἔχω  
εἰπεῖν, φασὶ δ' οὖν τὸν Δία χρυσὸν γενόμενον ῥυῆναι διὰ τοῦ ὀρόφου  
ἐπ' αὐτήν, δεξαμένην δὲ ἐκείνην ἐς τὸν κόλπον καταρρέοντα τὸν θεὸν  
ἐγκύμονα γενέσθαι. τοῦτ' αἰσθόμενος ὁ πατήρ, ἄγριός τις καὶ ζηλό-  
τυπος γέρων, ἠγανάκτησε καὶ ὑπὸ τινος μεμοιχεῦσθαι οἰηθεὶς αὐτήν  
ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὴν κιβωτὸν ἄρτι τετοκυῖαν.

## ΔΩΡΙΣ

2 Ἡ δὲ τί ἐπραττεν, ὦ Θέτι, ὁπότε καθίετο;

## ΘΕΤΙΣ

Ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μὲν ἐσίγα, ὦ Δωρί, καὶ ἔφερε τὴν καταδίκην. τὸ βρέφος  
δὲ παρηγιεῖτο μὴ ἀποθανεῖν δακρύουσα καὶ τῶι πάππῳ δεικνύουσα  
αὐτό, κάλλιστον ὄν· τὸ δὲ ὑπ' ἀγνοίας τῶν κακῶν καὶ ἐμειδία  
πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν. ὑποπίμπλαμαι αὖθις τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δακρύων  
μνημονεύσασα αὐτῶν.

## ΔΩΡΙΣ

Κάμὲ δακρῦσαι ἐποίησας. ἀλλ' ἤδη τεθνᾶσιν;

## ΘΕΤΙΣ

Οὐδαμῶς· νήχεται γὰρ ἔτι ἡ κιβωτὸς ἀμφὶ τὴν Σέριφον ζῶντας  
αὐτοὺς φυλάττουσα.

## ΔΩΡΙΣ

Τί οὖν οὐχὶ σώζομεν αὐτήν τοῖς ἀλιεῦσιν τούτοις ἐμβαλοῦσαι εἰς τὰ  
δίκτυα τοῖς Σεριφίοις; οἱ δὲ ἀνασπάρσαντες σώσουσι δῆλον ὅτι.

## ΘΕΤΙΣ

— Εὔ λέγεις· οὕτω ποιῶμεν· μὴ γὰρ ἀπολέσθω μήτε αὐτὴ μήτε τὸ  
παιδίον οὕτως ὃν καλόν.

## 13 ΕΝΙΠΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΟΣ

## ΕΝΙΠΕΥΣ

Οὐ καλὰ ταῦτα, ὦ Ποσειδον· εἰρήσεται γὰρ τάληθές· ὑπελθὼν μου  
τὴν ἔρωμένην εἰκασθεὶς ἐμοὶ διεκόρησας τὴν παῖδα· ἡ δὲ ὤιετο ὑπ'  
5 ἐμοῦ αὐτὸ πεπονθέναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρῆχεν ἑαυτήν.

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

Σὺ γάρ, ὦ Ἐνιπεῦ, ὑπεροπτικός ἦσθα καὶ βραδύς, ὃς κόρης οὕτως  
καλῆς φοιτώσης ὁσημέραι παρὰ σέ, ἀπολλυμένης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος,  
ὑπερεώρας καὶ ἔχαιρες λυπῶν αὐτήν, ἡ δὲ περὶ τὰς ὄχθας ἀλύουσα  
καὶ ἐπεμβαίνουσα καὶ λουομένη ἐκάστοτε ἠύχετό σοι ἐντυχεῖν, σὺ  
ο δὲ ἐθρύπτου πρὸς αὐτήν.

## ΕΝΙΠΕΥΣ

Τί οὖν; διὰ τοῦτο ἐχρῆν σε προαρπάσαι τὸν ἔρωτα καὶ καθυποκρί-  
2 νασθαι Ἐνιπέα ἀντὶ Ποσειδῶνος εἶναι καὶ κατασοφίσασθαι τὴν Τυρῶ  
ἀφελῇ κόρην οὔσαν;

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

Ὅψὲ ζηλοτυπεῖς, ὦ Ἐνιπεῦ, ὑπερόπτης πρότερον ὢν· ἡ Τυρῶ δὲ  
15 οὐδὲν δεινὸν πέπονθεν οἰομένη ὑπὸ σοῦ διακεκορῆσθαι.

## ΕΝΙΠΕΥΣ

Οὐ μὲν οὖν· ἔφης γὰρ ἀπιῶν ὅτι Ποσειδῶν ἦσθα. ὁ καὶ μάλιστα  
ἐλύπησεν αὐτήν· καὶ ἐγὼ τοῦτο ἠδίκημαι, ὅτι τὰ ἐμὰ σὺ εὐφραί-  
νου τότε καὶ περιστήσας πορφύρεόν τι κῦμα, ὅπερ ὕμᾶς κατέκρυψε,  
συνῆσθα τῇ παιδί ἀντ' ἐμοῦ.

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ

20 Ναί· σὺ γὰρ οὐκ ἠθελες, ὦ Ἐνιπεῦ.

## 14 ΤΡΙΤΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΗΡΕΙΔΩΝ

## ΤΡΙΤΩΝ

1 Τὸ κῆτος ὑμῶν, ὦ Νηρεΐδες, ὃ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Κηφέως θυγατέρα τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν ἐπέμψατε, οὔτε τὴν παῖδα ἠδίκησεν, ὥς οἴεσθε, καὶ αὐτὸ ἤδη τέθνηκεν.

## ΝΗΡΕΙΔΕΣ

Ὑπὸ τίνος, ὦ Τρίτων; ἢ ὁ Κηφεὺς καθάπερ δέλεαρ προθεῖς τὴν κόρην ἀπέκτεινεν ἐπιών, λοχήσας μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως;

5

## ΤΡΙΤΩΝ

Οὐκ· ἀλλὰ ἴστε, οἶμαι, ὦ Ἰφιάνασσα, τὸν Περσέα, τὸ τῆς Δανάης παιδίον, ὃ μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ ἐμβληθὲν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ μητροπάτορος ἐσώσατε οἰκτεῖρασαι αὐτούς.

## ΙΦΙΑΝΑΣΣΑ

Οἶδα ὃν λέγεις· εἰκὸς δὲ ἤδη αὐτὸν νεανίαν εἶναι καὶ μάλα γενναῖόν τε καὶ καλὸν ἰδεῖν.

10

## ΤΡΙΤΩΝ

Οὗτος ἀπέκτεινεν τὸ κῆτος.

## ΙΦΙΑΝΑΣΣΑ

Διὰ τί, ὦ Τρίτων; οὐ γὰρ δὴ σῶστρα ἡμῖν τοιαῦτα ἐκτίνειν αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν.

## ΤΡΙΤΩΝ

2 Ἐγὼ μῦιν φράσω τὸ πᾶν ὥς ἐγένετο· ἐστάλη μὲν οὗτος ἐπὶ τὰς Γοργόνας ἄθλόν τινα τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπιτελῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν 15 Λιβύην –

## ΙΦΙΑΝΑΣΣΑ

Πῶς, ὦ Τρίτων; μόνος; ἢ καὶ ἄλλους συμμάχους ἤγεν; ἄλλως γὰρ δύσπορος ἡ ὁδός.

## ΤΡΙΤΩΝ

Διὰ τοῦ ἄερος· ὑπόπτερον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ἔθηκεν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἦκεν ὅπου διηιτῶντο, αἱ μὲν ἐκάθευδον, οἶμαι, ὃ δὲ ἀποτεμῶν τῆς 5 Μεδούσης τὴν κεφαλὴν ὠιχετο ἀποπτάμενος.

## ΙΦΙΑΝΑΣΣΑ

Πῶς ἰδὼν; ἀθέατοι γὰρ εἰσιν· ἢ ὅς ἂν ἴδῃ, οὐκ ἂν τι ἄλλο μετὰ ταύτας ἴδοι.

## ΤΡΙΤΩΝ

Ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ τὴν ἀσπίδα προφαίνουσα τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἤκουσα διηγουμένου αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Κηφέα ὕστερον 10 ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος ὑποστιλβούσης ὥσπερ ἐπὶ κατόπτρου παρέσχεν αὐτῷ ἰδεῖν τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς Μεδούσης· εἶτα λαβόμενος τῇ λαιᾷ τῆς κόμης, ἐνὸρῶν ἐς τὴν εἰκόνα, τῇ δεξιᾷ τὴν ἄρπην ἔχων, ἀπέτεμεν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς, καὶ πρὶν ἀνεγρέσθαι τὰς ἀδελφὰς ἀπέπτατο. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν παράλιον ταύτην τῆς 15 Αἰθιοπίας ἐγένετο, ἤδη πρόσγειος πετόμενος, ὄρᾳ τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν προκειμένην ἐπὶ τίνος πέτρας προβλήτος προσπεπατταλευμένην, καλλίστην, ὦ θεοί, καθειμένην τὰς κόμας, ἡμίγυμνον πολὺ ἔνερθε τῶν μασθῶν· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἰκτεῖρας τὴν τύχην αὐτῆς ἀνηρώτα τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς καταδίκης, κατὰ μικρὸν δὲ ἁλούς ἔρωτι – ἐχρῆν γὰρ 20 σεσῶσθαι τὴν παῖδα – βοηθεῖν διέγνω· καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸ κῆτος ἐπήγει μάλα φοβερόν ὥς καταπιόμενον τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν, ὑπεραιωρηθεὶς ὁ νεανίας πρόκωπον ἔχων τὴν ἄρπην τῇ μὲν καθικνεῖται, τῇ δὲ προδεῖκνυσι τὴν Γοργόνα καὶ λιθοποιεῖ αὐτό, τὸ δὲ τέθνηκεν ὁμοῦ καὶ πέπηγεν αὐτοῦ τὰ πολλά, ὅσα εἶδεν τὴν Μέδουσαν· ὃ δὲ λύσας 25 τὰ δεσμὰ τῆς παρθένου, ὑποσχὼν τὴν χεῖρα ὑπεδέξατο ἀκροποδῆτι κατιοῦσαν ἐκ τῆς πέτρας ὀλισθηρᾶς οὔσης, καὶ νῦν γαμεῖ ἐν τοῦ Κηφέως καὶ ἀπάξει αὐτὴν εἰς Ἀργος, ὥστε ἀντὶ θανάτου γάμον οὐ τὸν τυχόντα εὖρετο.

## ΙΦΙΑΝΑΣΣΑ

- 4 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ πᾶν τῷ γεγονότι ἄχθομαι· τί γὰρ ἢ παῖς ἡδίκηκε ἡμᾶς, εἰ ἢ μήτηρ αὐτῆς ἐμεγαλαυχεῖτο καὶ ἡξίου καλλίων εἶναι;

## ΔΩΡΙΣ

Ὅτι οὕτως ἂν ἤλγησεν ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ μήτηρ γε οὔσα.

## ΙΦΙΑΝΑΣΣΑ

Μηκέτι μεμνώμεθα, ὦ Δωρί, ἐκείνων, εἴ τι βάρβαρος γυνὴ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐλάλησεν· ἱκανὴν γὰρ ἡμῖν τιμωρίαν ἔδωκεν φοβηθεῖσα ἐπὶ 5 τῇ παιδί. χαίρωμεν οὖν τῷ γάμῳ.

## 15 ΖΕΦΥΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΝΟΤΟΥ

## ΖΕΦΥΡΟΣ

- 1 Οὐ πώποτε πομπὴν ἐγὼ μεγαλοπρεπεστέραν εἶδον ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἂφ' οὗ γέ εἰμι καὶ πνέω. σὺ δὲ οὐκ εἶδες, ὦ Νότε;

## ΝΟΤΟΣ

Τίνα ταύτην λέγεις, ὦ Ζέφυρε, τὴν πομπήν; ἢ τίνες οἱ πέμποντες ἦσαν; 10

## ΖΕΦΥΡΟΣ

Ἡδίστου θεάματος ἀπελείφθης, οἶον οὐκ ἄλλο ἴδοις ἔτι.

## ΝΟΤΟΣ

Περὶ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν γὰρ θάλασσαν εἰργαζόμεν, ἐπέπνευσα δὲ καὶ μέρος τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, ὅσα παράλια τῆς χώρας· οὐδὲν οὖν οἶδα ὧν λέγεις.

## ΖΕΦΥΡΟΣ

Ἀλλὰ τὸν Σιδωνίον γε Ἀγήνορα οἶδας;

## ΝΟΤΟΣ

Ναί· τὸν τῆς Εὐρώπης πατέρα. τί μήν;

## ΖΕΦΥΡΟΣ

Περὶ αὐτῆς ἐκείνης διηγῆσομαί σοι.

## ΝΟΤΟΣ

Μῶν ὅτι ὁ Ζεὺς ἐραστὴς τῆς παιδὸς ἐκ πολλοῦ; τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ πάλαι ἠπιστάμεν.

## ΖΕΦΥΡΟΣ

- 5 Οὐκοῦν τὸν μὲν ἔρωτα οἶσθα, τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ἤδη ἄκουσον. ἡ 2 μὲν Εὐρώπη κατεληλύθει ἐπὶ τὴν ἡϊόνα παίζουσα τὰς ἡλικιωτίδας παραλαβοῦσα, ὁ Ζεὺς δὲ ταύρῳ εἰκάσας ἑαυτὸν συνέπαιζεν αὐταῖς κάλλιστος φαινόμενος· λευκός τε γὰρ ἦν ἀκριβῶς καὶ τὰ κέρατα εὐκαμπῆς καὶ τὸ βλέμμα ἡμερος· ἐσκίρτα οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνας 10 καὶ ἐμυκάτο ἡδιστον, ὥστε τὴν Εὐρώπην τολμῆσαι καὶ ἀναβῆναι αὐτόν. ὥς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, δρομαῖος μὲν ὁ Ζεὺς ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν φέρων αὐτήν καὶ ἐνήχετο ἐμπεσών, ἡ δὲ πᾶν ἐκπλαγῆς τῷ πράγματι τῇ λαιαῖ μὲν εἶχετο τοῦ κέρατος, ὥς μὴ ἀπολισθάνει, τῇ ἐτέραι δὲ ἠνεμωμένον τὸν πέπλον συνεῖχεν.

## ΝΟΤΟΣ

- 15 Ἡδὺν τοῦτο θέαμα εἶδες, ὦ Ζέφυρε, καὶ ἐρωτικόν, νηχόμενον τὸν Δία 3 καὶ φέροντα τὴν ἀγαπωμένην.

## ΖΕΦΥΡΟΣ

- Καὶ μὴν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡδῖω παρὰ πολὺ, ὦ Νότε· ἡ τε γὰρ θάλασσα εὐθύς ἀκύμων ἐγένετο καὶ τὴν γαλήνην ἐπισπασαμένη λείαν παρεῖ- 20 χεν ἑαυτήν, ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ θεαταὶ μόνον τῶν γινομένων παρηκολουθοῦμεν, ἔρωτες δὲ παραπετόμενοι μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν θάλασσαν, ὥς ἐνίοτε ἄκροις τοῖς ποσὶν ἐπιψαύειν τοῦ ὕδατος, ἡμένας τὰς δαίδας φέροντες ἡδὸν ἅμα τὸν ὑμέναιον, αἱ Νηρείδες δὲ ἀναδύσαι παρίππευον ἐπὶ τῶν δελφίνων ἐπικρο- τοῦσαι ἡμίγυμνοι τὰ πολλὰ, τὸ δὲ τῶν Τριτώνων γένος καὶ εἴ τι

ἄλλο μὴ φοβερὸν ἰδεῖν τῶν θαλασσίων, ἅπαντα περιεχόμενον τὴν  
παῖδα· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ποσειδῶν ἐπιβεβηκῶς ἄρματος, παροχουμένην  
τὴν Ἀμφιτρίτην ἔχων, προῆγε γεγηθῶς ὁδοποιῶν νηχομένῳ τῷ  
ἀδελφῷ· ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην δύο Τρίτωνες ἔφερον ἐπὶ  
4 κόγχης κατακειμένην, ἄνθη παντοῖα ἐπιπάττουσαν τῇ νύμφῃ. 5  
ταῦτα ἐκ Φοινίκης ἄχρι τῆς Κρήτης ἐγίνετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπέβη τῇ νήσῳ  
ὁ μὲν ταῦρος οὐκέτι ἐφαίνετο, ἐπιλαβόμενος δὲ τῆς χειρὸς ὁ Ζεὺς  
ἀπῆγε τὴν Εὐρώπην εἰς τὸ Δικταῖον ἄντρον ἐρυθριῶσαν καὶ κάτω  
ὀρῶσαν· ἠπίστατο γὰρ ἦδη ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἄγοιτο. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐμπεσόντες  
ἄλλο ἄλλος τοῦ πελάγους μέρος διεκυμαίνομεν. 10

#### ΝΟΤΟΣ

ὦ μακάριε Ζέφυρε τῆς θεάς· ἐγὼ δὲ γρυῖπας καὶ ἐλέφαντας καὶ μέλανας  
ἀνθρώπους ἑώρων.

#### COMMENTARY

## I THE DREAM

*The Dream* describes an important moment in the life of its narrator. When he had finished his elementary education his father, having little money, decided to apprentice him to a sculptor uncle. The boy was keen enough to try this trade, but on his first day he clumsily ruined a block of stone and was given a beating. That night two women, Sculpture and Culture, appeared to him in a dream, and each tried to persuade him to spend the rest of his life in her company. Sculpture, an unattractive character resembling his uncle, spoke briefly of the fame resulting from excellence in τέχνη; but Culture (Παίδεια), with all the resources of rhetoric, promised fame, wealth and high social position. The boy immediately went over to Culture; who took him in her sky-chariot and showed him mankind showering his course with blessings. She also reconciled his father to the change of career. At this point, having concluded his story of the dream, he introduces two interlocutors who comment rudely on its tedium and frigidity. By way of justification he claims to be following the precedent of Xenophon (an unimpeachable classical source) in giving a useful account of a dream: his narrative will encourage youths of a similar social position to persevere with higher education.

If *The Dream* is read in accordance with its narrator's own interpretation, it is an improving autobiographical work with a protreptic purpose (18 πρὸς τὸ βελτίω τρέπωνται) composed at a time when he had already gained a glorious reputation. Taken at face value, it describes a moment of great significance in his life, the moment when, growing away from his father's control, he determined to abandon his training as an artisan in favour of higher education (i.e. rhetoric) and culture. The block of stone broken by the tyro sculptor is emblematic not only of his subsequent literary iconoclasm but also of his break with banausic handicraft, and the beating inflicted by his furious uncle forms a *rite de passage* both from youth to adulthood and from a career of shabby anonymity to one of glorious and enviable social prominence. Read in this way, the work is a charter myth of its author's self-fashioning. Returning home in triumph, he provides an explanation for his success and an aetiology for his literary career. The allegorical debate between Sculpture and Culture dramatises a choice between trade and education which might face many young men of moderate means. According to this reading, the author presents himself as an example (18 παράδειγμα) for imitation and emulation. *The Dream* itself, if sufficiently persuasive, might act for the benighted young artisans in his audience in the same way that his own dream did for him.

If we read it in this way, *The Dream* takes its place in a long tradition of literary initiations. At the beginning of the *Theogony* Hesiod tells how, as he shepherded his flocks, he was met by the Muses, who gave him a staff as proof of his investiture as a poet (22–34). Many other poets, most notably Archilochus, Callimachus, Theocritus and Virgil in his *Eclogues*, produced their own more or less ironised

versions of this famous encounter; Aeschylus dreamed that the god of theatre, Dionysus, told him to write tragedy (Paus. 1.21.2). Such episodes, traditional in form, can provide an opportunity for a writer to set out a literary programme. In the case of *The Dream*, however, Lucian accounts not only for how he writes but also for what he is. Culture set him literally on the road to fame and fortune by inspiring him to seek higher education and train as a speaker; and it is through that talent jointly to entertain and to instruct that he now gives an account of the birth-pangs of his art.

For those in his audience who are already members of the educated elite (πεπαιδευμένοι; see p. 00) and who have acquired a higher level of literary culture, *The Dream* might provide comfortable confirmation of their social superiority. If the function of the work for the promising but as yet uncultured young men (18 νέοι) is a utilitarian one (17 χρήσιμον), revealing to them through a vicarious epiphany the benefits of social ambition and higher learning, then for the already learned the work can provide pleasure in the happy recognition of allusions to familiar classical texts. Audience members of this sort, when they hear of a sculptor's apprentice, think immediately of Socrates, who famously trained as a stone-carver before turning to philosophy (Paus. 1.22.8, Diog. Laert. 2.19); for such educated persons the young man's attempts at modelling wax are amusingly reminiscent of the wastrel Phidippides in Aristophanes' *Clouds* (2 ἐτεκμαίρετο . . . πατρί n.); the references to 'a hare's life' (9) and to 'the son of a tambourine player' (12) bring to mind Demosthenes' entertaining slander of Aeschines in his most famous speech, *On the Crown*; and the allegorical personifications of Sculpture and Culture evoke a long series of similar encounters amongst which may be mentioned Paris' Judgment of the Goddesses, the personified Europe and Asia in Aeschylus' *Persae* and Moschus' *Europa*, the Just Argument and the Unjust Argument in the *Clouds*, and in particular the Choice of Heracles story in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (see below). For those who have recognised these allusions gratifying confirmation is slyly provided by the narrator, who refers to Socrates, Demosthenes and Xenophon later in the work (12, 17 nn.). The masonic parallel with Socrates is drawn explicitly (12).

The narrator of *The Dream* is thus associated through literary allusion with a number of well-known figures: with Socrates, Agamemnon (via the Homeric quotation in §5), Phidippides, the soldier Xenophon, and Demosthenes. But the most obvious and extensive allusion (again slyly acknowledged, in the interlocutors' reference to Heracles and the long night in §17) is to the parable of the Choice of Heracles. In Book 2 of his *Memorabilia*, a defence of Socrates and an exposition of his beliefs, Xenophon puts into the philosopher's mouth a story which he attributes to the sophist Prodicus. Socrates is arguing that selfishness and neglect of others are in themselves bad. To illustrate his point he borrows the story which Prodicus used to tell as a set-piece rhetorical performance (2.1.21 ὅπερ δὴ καὶ πλείστοις ἐπιδείκνυται). Heracles, poised between childhood and

youth (2.1.21 ἐπεὶ ἐκ παίδων εἰς ἥβην ὠρμάτο; cf. §1 ἥδη τὴν ἡλικίαν πρόσθετος ὦν), at the age when it becomes clear whether a person will make good or go to the bad, had a vision of two women, one decently dressed and characterised by modesty, prudence, natural beauty and liberty, the other artificially beautified, self-regarding and too conscious of her effect on others. These are Virtue and Vice, Ἀρετή and Κακία. Vice speaks first: Heracles is at a crossroads in his life, and he should go on in her company. His way will be easy, all τερπνόν, nothing χολεπόν; sensual indulgence and material gain will be his lot. Virtue exhorts him to be worthy of his parents and his upbringing (2.1.27 ἐν τῇ παιδείᾳ) so that he performs deeds that are ἀγαθὰ and σεμνά. There will be much πόνος, since without it there is no progress in the life of ἀρετῇ. Here Vice ventures to interrupt (2.1.29), but she is denounced by Virtue in a long speech (2.1.30–3): the life of self-indulgence is worthless; recognition and respect come only to those who work hard and live a life of virtuous moderation. Such men are φίλοι μὲν θεοῖς . . . ἀγαπητοὶ δὲ φίλοις, τίμιοι δὲ πατρίσιν, and those who are too old for work rejoice in the τιμαί of the young (2.1.33); even after death such men are remembered and honoured (2.1.33 ὅταν δ' ἔλθῃ τὸ πεπρωμένον τέλος, οὐ μετὰ λήθης ἄτιμοι κείνται, ἀλλὰ μετὰ μνήμης τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον ὑμνούμενοι θάλλουσι, 'when their ordained end arrives, they do not rest in oblivion without honour, but their memory flourishes, celebrated for ever'; cf. *Dream* 12 ἦν αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ βίου ἀπέλθῃς, οὔποτε παύσις συνὼν τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις καὶ προσομιλῶν τοῖς ἀρίστοις, 'when you leave this life, you will never cease to be with men of culture and to associate with the best'). Here Socrates' account of the speech ends, with an exhortation to his interlocutor Aristippus to consider well which course is best. There is no description of how Heracles made his choice, or of the consequence of it; these are known well enough.

*The Dream* is clearly inspired by this Choice of Heracles. Lucian's narrator has an authority equivalent to that of Xenophon, in whose work it is incorporated; or of Socrates, by whom it is paraphrased or reported (2.1.34); or of Prodicus, by whom it was originally performed; or indeed of Heracles, its protagonist. A respectful reading would interpret *The Dream* as the type of sensational conversion experience so popular with autobiographers, an account if not perhaps literally true (because so clearly and closely indebted to the masonic apprenticeship of Socrates and the Prodicus parable), then true in a deeper sense, as providing an aetiological myth for the rhetorical success and social prestige of its narrator, who presents himself as a Heracles or Socrates for the modern age, a devotee of culture and higher education in spite of difficult odds, a rhetorical performer who has carved for himself a prominent niche in the pantheon of contemporary intellectuals. It seems likely that his success in wax-moulding (2) but rejection of work on a monumental scale represents a preference for flexible and varied literary miniaturisation. *The Dream*, on this reading, is a sort of allegory for why Lucian writes as he does.



There are, however, several aspects which bring into question this comfortable interpretation. They may be discussed under two heads: first, issues raised by the interaction between *The Dream* and its classical models, in particular the Choice of Heracles; and second, our knowledge of Lucian's ironic stance in the majority of his other works.

It is clear from the summary given above of Xenophon's Prodicus or Socratic parable that Heracles must choose between a life of superficial attractions lacking in real achievement and a life of unremitting toil crowned with true glory; choosing the right way when faced with such alternatives is itself to be seen as a creditable act. In *The Dream* the choice is quite different. Culture is both attractive and (it seems) the right choice; Sculpture has little to recommend her. Even in physical appearance Culture is more appealing; in Xenophon's account, by contrast, Vice is at least superficially attractive. For Lucian, then, the choice is easy. This could be explained in psychological terms: the beating he received at the hands of his uncle (3, 4, 14) might have coloured the boy's vision of the alternatives before him. But the close relation of the piece to serious Socratic issues is certainly ambivalent: while Lucian *can* be seen as re-enacting a serious moral choice, he might also be thought to have downgraded its solemnity. Virtue in Xenophon stressed the need for toil and perseverance; Culture, though she promises some virtuous qualities (10), places much more emphasis on appearance and status. Lucian is promised wealth, travel, splendid clothing and universal fame, all things despised by Socrates, who notoriously owned little, never travelled abroad, and cared nothing for reputation or personal appearance (Plato, *Crito* 52b, *Phaedo* 64c–e). What new Socrates, what new Heracles is this?

There are further discrepancies between *The Dream* and reality. The Homeric dream to which Lucian alludes is a deceptive one. The fulsome promises made by Culture seem exaggerated. Lucian's works do not present with prophetic omniscience τὰ μέλλοντα . . . καὶ ὅλως ἅπαντα ὁπόσα ἐστί, τὰ τε θεῖα τὰ τ' ἀνθρώπινα (10). The parallel between Lucian and Demosthenes, the greatest of Greek orators, invites criticism. It is easy, too, to laugh at the notion that this moderately successful peripatetic performer is to be equated with the great culture-hero Triptolemus (15 καθάπερ η.). Moreover, is Lucian right to dismiss so quickly the products of τέχνη? The famous sculptors of the past (9), though they may have practised a manual skill, are at least as famous as a Lucian.

Evidence from other works of Lucian raises further problems. It is clear from *The Dream* that the narrator is a well-known figure. His works, too, should be well known to his audience. And what these works are above all famous for is their novel, iconoclastic, all-embracing irony and satire. Even within *The Dream* Lucian introduces a pair of hecklers who puncture the pretension of his vision and complain at its tedium. It is stale and frigid, they cry; does he think we are dream-interpreters (17 ὑποκριτὸς)? This challenge to interpretation which applies to his own efforts in the iconoclasm represented in §3, is presented with

the ironic self-disparagement familiar from many other of Lucian's works. Two of those seem particularly relevant here. In the treatise *Tips for Orators* Lucian says that there are two paths that lead to mastery of rhetoric, one steep and difficult and lengthy, requiring abstinence and sleepless nights spent in study, the other easy and effortless (6–8). As guides for these two paths he presents a tough and knowledgeable older man and an effeminate and vacuous poseur. When he himself was young (8 νέος ἔτι ὢν) he had felt obliged to try to follow the difficult road, but now (he states ironically) he realises he has wasted his time: it is a simple thing to deceive an audience with pseudo-rhetoric, and nothing more than that is needed. Here, as is more usual in such allegories, the two figures represent virtuous effort and effortless vice. Similarly in *Twice Accused* Lucian (called 'The Syrian') justifies his abandonment of his 'wife' Rhetoric on the grounds that she no longer behaves modestly as she did when married to Demosthenes, but has become a promiscuous embarrassment (30–1). In each of these cases allegorical personifications are used in a context where Lucian rejects meretricious rhetoric. In the light of these two works Culture's promise of instant and gratifying success rings hollow.

A multiplicity of allusions to earlier literature and of similarities to passages in Lucian's own works opens up *The Dream* to a multiplicity of readings. To take the tale at its face value as an entertaining slice of protreptic autobiography is to ignore the implications and associations of the works which its author so self-consciously invokes and imitates. Whether we see it as a short story, an autobiographical fragment, a parable, an epiphany or an educational tract, as a celebratory confirmation of its author's social success or as the deluded vision of future greatness of a badly bruised boy who has persuaded himself that shallow rhetoric is an easy route to fame and fortune, *The Dream* contains something to hold the attention of both cultured and uncultured auditors and is open, as most dreams are, to diverse interpretations.

### Bibliography

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**TITLE** In the manuscripts the full title is Περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἥτοι βίος Λουκιανοῦ; but it seems likely that the second part was added by an editor to distinguish the work from another Lucianic piece entitled *The Dream*: that, too, has a defining alternative, being referred to in the manuscripts as Ὀνειρος ἢ Ἀλεκτρούων.

**1** **μέν:** this particle, commonly used at the beginning of rhetorical performances (*GP* 383, *Sigma vs Tau* 2 init.), helps to mark the nature of the work. Often in such contexts there is no corresponding **δέ**, but here the parallel clause **ὁ δὲ πατήρ** . . . introduces the father as a contrasting figure. The two will eventually be reconciled by *Paideia* in §16. **φοιτῶν:** the standard term for *attending* school (LSJ 5); hence Mod. Gk φοιτητής, 'student'. *The Dream* has several echoes of Demosthenes' famous speech *On the Crown*, and there the orator begins an account of his own career with the words ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπῆρξεν . . . παιδὶ μὲν ὄντι φοιτᾶν εἰς τὰ προσήκοντα διδασκαλεῖα (257). **ἤδη τὴν ἡλικίαν πρόσηβος ὢν** 'being by then near manhood in age', in his mid to late teens, almost an ἔφηβος, ephebe. In many Greek cities there were endowed schools where poor children could learn basic numeracy and literacy; but the fact that he has been educated to this age suggests that his family is not among the poorest, and that he has had more than the rudiments of learning. **ὁ . . . πατήρ:** the father's name and occupation are not given. Nor is Lucian's name found anywhere in the piece; nor is the name of his native city. In §7 Sculpture is reported as referring to his grandfather's name, but the name itself is withheld. These omissions might be the result of his speaking to an audience who know the facts well, and of his rise from poverty rather than the remoteness of the city being the main point of his story. But it is characteristic of Lucian to keep a distance between himself and the narrating 'I': elsewhere the 'I' figure is called Lycinus or Parrhesiades or 'The Syrian' (cf. p. 97 on *Twice Accused*). See further Goldhill (2002) 60–9. **ὁ τι καὶ διδάσκειτό με:** the father asked τί καὶ διδάξωμαι αὐτόν; Generally διδάσκω is 'teach' and διδάσκομαι is 'supervise tuition', 'have taught', but authors do not always observe this distinction: cf. LSJ 1.1, 10 διδάξομαι n. καὶ in such questions emphasises the deliberation (LSJ B.6): 'what training is he to have?' **παιδεία μὲν . . . τὰ δ' ἡμέτερα . . . εἰ δέ τινα τέχνην:** the contrast between father and son in the first sentence introduces that between *Paideia* and *Technē*, around which the remainder of the piece is organised. **τὰ δ' ἡμέτερα**, 'our resources', being limited, are (syntactically) on the side of *Technē*. **τύχης . . . λαμπρᾶς** 'a splendid social position': LSJ τύχη 1v.3, λαμπρός 11.1. **ταχεῖάν τινα τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ἀπαιτεῖν** 'to require some speedy assistance', 'assistance of a speedy kind': they feel that the boy needs to start earning as soon as possible. **τινα τέχνην τῶν βαναύσων** 'a craft, one of the banausic ones': a common idiom with the partitive genitive. τέχνη βάναισος = 'handicraft', 'illiberal art', which would now be called skilled manual work. But βάναισος is not complimentary. Most members of the social elite regarded such occupations as beneath them, and both the Platonic and Aristotelian traditions rationalise this prejudice: either such arts do not provide leisure for study of more important matters, or they are harmful to the body: Plato, *Rep.* 495d–e, *Gorg.* 512b–c, Arist. *Pol.* 1337b4–15, Xen. *Oec.* 4.2 3, and §9 below βάναισος καὶ χειρῶναξ καὶ ἀποχειροβίωτος. **ὅν αὐτὸς ἔχειν . . . καὶ . . . εἶναι:** the φίλοι said αὐτὸς ὅν ἔχει . . . καὶ εἶναι, 'he would receive . . . and be . . .'. **οἰκόσιτος** 'fed at home', financially dependent. **οὐκ εἰς**

**μακρὰν** 'shortly', 'after no long time': 10 οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν, LSJ μακρὰν 11. Greek has a number of adverbs formed from the feminine of adjectives (e.g. κοινῇ, δημοσίᾳ, ἰδίᾳ); they are perhaps to be explained as having an ellipse of a feminine noun (here ὁδόν); see however Fraenkel on Aesch. *Agam.* 916. **ἀποφέρων ἀεὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον** 'bringing home my earnings regularly' (Harmon). It is possible, however, that Lucian used here the construction of ἀεὶ between the definite article and its participle (LSJ 1): ἀποφέρων τὸ ἀεὶ γιγνόμενον would mean 'bringing home what I might earn from time to time'. For τὸ γιγνόμενον = 'due payment' cf. *Timon* 4.9 ἐγὼ προσῆλθον αἰτῶν τὸ γιγνόμενον, LSJ γίγνομαι 1.2.b.

**2** **προϋτέθη** 'was brought forward' for discussion. **πρόχειρον ἔχουσα τὴν χορηγίαν** 'requiring equipment that was to hand', i.e. readily available. χορηγία, originally the financing, fitting out and training of a chorus at a public festival, came to mean, more generally, 'supplies' or 'equipment'. **πόρον** 'income', 'wages': LSJ 11.3. **ἄλλην:** sc. τέχνην. **ὡς ἕκαστος γνώμης ἢ ἐμπειρίας εἶχεν** 'each according to his own knowledge or experience', literally 'as each was situated with regard to . . .'. For this use of ὡς and similar words with ἔχω + gen. see LSJ ἔχω B.11.b. **ὁ πρὸς μητρός θεῖος** 'my uncle on my mother's side'. **ἐρμογλύφος:** a carver of herms, plain stone pillars representing Hermes with head and phallus, which as talismans of good luck stood in the streets and outside houses. It is possible that by extension of meaning the word here signifies more generally 'statue-maker'; cf. n. on χορηγίαν above. **εἶναι δοκῶν** 'reputed to be', 'with a reputation as': LSJ δοκέω 11.5. There is no implication that he may not be. **ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα εὐδόκιμος** 'very well known indeed'. For the words ἐν τοῖς used adverbially with superlatives see LSJ ὁ, ἡ, τό A.VIII.6. The full expression would be ἐν τοῖς εὐδοκίμοις μάλιστα εὐδόκιμος. The usage is particularly Thucydidean and Platonic. **καὶ . . . εὐδόκιμος:** these words are omitted in some manuscripts. They may be an explanatory note for the phrase ἄριστος ἐρμογλύφος later mistakenly incorporated into the text: λιθοξόος would gloss the rarer ἐρμογλύφος and εὐδόκιμος would explain ἄριστος εἶναι δοκῶν. On the other hand, this type of reiterative paraphrase is very common in Lucian, and λιθοξόος might be thought to anticipate its occurrence in §§7 and 9. **ἀλλά** 'come on . . .', perhaps a colloquial use: *GP* 13 15. **ἄγε:** followed by an imperative ἄγε is used almost as an interjection: 'come now, take this lad with you and teach him . . .': LSJ ἄγε. **φύσεώς γε . . . ἔχων δεξιῶς** 'his natural ability, at any rate, is well suited <to it>'. For ἔχω + adv. + gen. see n. on ὡς ἕκαστος . . . εἶχεν above. **ἐτεκμαίρετο . . . πατρί:** here Lucian alludes to a passage in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes. Strepsiades is keen that his son, Phidippides, should be taught by Socrates, and he cites as proof of the boy's abilities the fact that when very young he would make (879) ἐπλάττειν; cf. ἀνέπλαττον here) model houses, carts and frogs. Phidippides fails to fulfil his father's ambitions, and the allusion here foreshadows Lucian's failure as stonemason. It foreshadows, too, the contest between Sculpture and Culture: the scene in *Clouds* is shortly

followed by the contest between the Ἀδικὸς Λόγος and the Δίκαιος Λόγος, which is designed to help the young man Phidippides make a choice between two types of rhetorical education. ἐτεκμαίρετο 'he was basing his opinion on . . .': LSJ II.2. κηροῦ: the wax on his writing tablets, which he should have been using for school work. ἀποξέων ἄν . . . ἀνέπλαττον 'I would scrape off and mould'. Here ἄν is iterative, marking frequent occurrence (LSJ c); cf. 6 ἄν . . . ἐπεκράτει. It is often placed, as here, next to a participle at the beginning of a clause which might have been expressed as a finite verb. The word ἀνέπλαττον hints at a future literary career, since πλάσσω is often used of literary invention: LSJ v. In his treatise *On Style* the critic Demetrius compares language to a lump of wax: just as different sculptors can mould (ἐπλάσεν) the same lump into a dog, an ox or a horse, so different speakers treat the same topic for discussion in different ways (296). ἀφεθείην: 1st pers. aor. mid. of ἀφίημι. εἰκότως 'convincingly'. The fact that he can model even (καὶ νῆ Δί') human beings in wax bodes well for his projected career. ἐφ' οἷς 'on account of which': causal: LSJ ἐπί B.III.1. τότε: at the time when his future was being discussed. ἔπαινος 'cause for praise'. καὶ ταῦτα: the πλάσματα described above. χρηστὰς . . . εἶχον ἐλπίδας 'they <my father and family> had high hopes'. ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς πλαστικῆς: sc. τέχνης: 'judging from (or, as a consequence of) that modelling of mine'.

3 ἐπιτήδειος . . . ἐνάρχεσθαι: there may be a religious nuance here ('an auspicious day for me to be initiated in my craft'), since the episode ends with the ritual μου κατήρξατο (see below). παιδιάν τινα οὐκ ἄτερπῆ ἔδδοκει ἔχειν 'it seemed to involve some not unenjoyable amusement'. ἐπίδειξιν 'a chance to show off' (Harmon). As it turns out, Lucian will become master of a different sort of epideixis: see pp. 109, 113. εἰ φαινοίμην . . . γλύφω 'if I were to be seen carving'. κάκεινοις οἷς προηιρούμην 'for those for whom I chose to do it', for those who were my close friends. But προαιρέομαι normally governs the accusative case, and οἷς is probably attracted into the dative after ἐμαυτῶι κάκεινοις. τό γε πρῶτον ἐκείνο καὶ σύνηθες ἀρχομένοις 'that first start, the usual experience of beginners'. ἔγκοπέα 'a chisel' (13 κοπέας): D S 3.927 fig. 4342. ἡρέμα καθικέσθαι πλακός 'to strike a light blow, lit. to come down gently, on a slab'. ἐν μέσῳ κειμένης: perhaps 'that was lying between us', rather than 'that lay to hand' (Harmon): the uncle stands on the other side of the block to supervise. Ἀρχὴ δέ τοι ἥμισυ παντός 'Well begun is half done': a common saying (τὸ κοινόν) couched, as are many Greek proverbs, in the metrical form of a paroemiac, equivalent to the second half of a hexameter. It is cited by Plato at *Laws* 753e without attribution; Horace's Latin version is *dimidium facti qui coepit habet* (*Epist.* 1.2.40). At *Hermot.* 3 Lucian attributes it to Hesiod, but it is not found in his extant poetry; probably he confused it with the similar πλέον ἥμισυ παντός at *Works and Days* 40 (which is quoted at Plato, *Rep.* 466c). κατενεγκόντος: sc. ἐμοῦ τὸν ἐγκοπέα. προτρεπτικῶς 'encouragingly'. κατήρξατο 'he set about

me'; but this verb is used especially of consecrating a victim for sacrifice. The imagery is perhaps continued in τὰ προοίμια, 'prelude' or song performed (for example) at the beginning of a religious festival. The boy is *victimised* by his uncle, and his career has got off to an inauspicious start (ἀρχή).

4 συνεχές 'continuously': neuter used as adverb: LSJ συνεχής B.II. ἀναλύζων 'choking with sobs'. δακρύων: gen. pl., governed by ὑπό-πλεως. πολλήν τινα ὀμότητα: sc. τοῦ θείου. προσθείς 'adding that . . .': LSJ προστίθημι A.III.1. ὑπὸ φθόνου . . . τέχνην: a petulant accusation. ἀνακτησαμένης 'having comforted'.

5 γελάσιμα καὶ μερακιώδη: i.e. an amusing youthful escapade. οὐκέτι here marks a contrast with what has preceded. So far, we are told, the story has been merely amusing; but the address to his audience and the Homeric quotation imply (with a high degree of Lucianic irony) a rise in ὕψος and seriousness for the narrative. καὶ πάνυ φιληκόνων: highly cultured and receptive. ἵνα . . . καθ' Ὁμηρον εἶπω 'in Homer's words'. The quotation is from *Il.* 2.56 7, where Agamemnon describes a dream to the Greek leaders, a dream which we have been told was sent by Zeus to deceive him. See p. 96. θεῖος: there is perhaps a fleeting pun on θεῖος, 'uncle'. ἐνύπνιον 'in my sleep': adverbial. ἀπολείπεσθαι 'be lacking in', 'fall short of': LSJ C.II.2. ἔτι γοῦν . . . πάντα ἦν: an allusion to Plato's *Menexenus* 235b c, where Socrates ironically speaks of the impression made on him by funeral orations: 'This majestic feeling remains with me for over three days: so persistently do the speech and voice of the orator ring in my ears (οὕτως ἔναυλος ὁ λόγος τε καὶ ὁ φθόγγος . . . ἐνδύεται εἰς τὰ ὦτα) that it is scarcely on the fourth or fifth day that I recover myself and remember that I almost imagined myself to be living in the Islands of the Blessed so expert are our orators (οὕτως ἡμῖν οἱ ῥήτορες δεξιοὶ εἰσιν)' (tr. Bury). Lucian outdoes 'over three days' with καὶ μετὰ τοσοῦτον χρόνον while adopting the idea of bewitching and persuasive words.

6 λαβόμενα ταῖν χεροῖν 'taking hold of my hands'; LSJ λαμβάνω B.I. μικροῦ 'almost'. The genitive is governed by δεῖν (cf. 16 οἷα μικροῦ δεῖν περὶ ἐμοῦ ἐβουλεύσατο), which is often omitted: *GMT* §779. ἄν . . . ἐπεκράτει: see n. on 2 ἀποξέων ἄν ἀνέπλαττον. παρὰ μικρόν 'all but': LSJ μικρός II.5.c. ἐβόων . . . ἐκάτερα 'they were each shouting . . .'. A plural verb is not unusual with ἐκάτερος (and ἕκαστος) in the singular. αὐτῆς ὄντα: because he is already a mason. κεκτῆσθαι 'keep'. τύλων 'calluses' from holding the mason's tools. διεζωσμένην 'dressed for work', either with her long skirt tucked up in her belt, so that her legs are unencumbered, or with the loose folds so arranged that her arms are free for working. τιτάνου: the dust that arises in stone-cutting. τὸ σχῆμα εὐπρεπὲς καὶ κόσμιος τὴν ἀναβολήν: Culture, though more attractive, exposes less flesh than the artisan Sculpture. The adjectives εὐπρεπὲς and

κόσμιος reflect the qualities of cultured people whose deportment and behaviour are irreproachable. τὴν ἀναβολὴν refers to her style of wearing her cloak thrown over her shoulder (LSJ ἀναβάλλω B.III); see also 13 σχῆμα εὐπρεπές n. ἐφιδάσκει μοι 'referred the matter to me', a technical term of the law: LSJ ἐφιδάσκω A.IV and ἐφείσις. συνεῖναι 'live with' = 8 συνοικεῖν.

7 οἰκεία 'related to', but perhaps also 'suitable for' (LSJ II.1, IV.1). τῶν παρὰ ταύτης 'associated with this woman (Culture)'. εἰ δ' ἐθέλοις . . . θρέψη γεννικῶς: in Classical Attic one would expect ἄν + opt. in the apodosis, but in Lucian the future is frequently found: Macleod (1977) 217. θρέψη γεννικῶς: perhaps 'you will have an excellent diet' (and therefore broad shoulders) rather than 'you will grow up manly' (Heitland): LSJ γενναῖος II. Culture implicitly refutes this claim in §§9 (ἀγεννή) and 11 (ἀγεννοῦς); cf. 18 οὐκ ἀγεννή. The future middle θρέψομαι is used for the passive τραφήσομαι in Attic Greek. ὥμους ἔξεις καρτερούς . . . οὐδὲ ἐπὶ λόγοις ἐπαινέσονται σε πάντες: these words are inspired by a passage in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes (see 2 ἐτεκμαίρετο . . . πατρί n.). The Δίκαιος Λόγος, in attempting to persuade Phidippides to follow traditional education rather than the sophistical training of his rival, promises the boy that he will live a healthy life in the gymnasium and have ὥμους μεγάλους, γλώτταν βαιάν (1013) instead of the reverse (1017–18). φθόνου: the envy excited by success and social prominence. οὐποτε ἄπει ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλοδαπήν: sophists, products of Paideia, travelled far and wide to give public lectures and performances: see pp. 3 6 and 18 ἐπανελήλυθα n. ἐπὶ λόγοις: you will be praised not 'for <mere> words', but rather for the tangible and lasting products of your hands. See LSJ ἐπὶ B.III.1.

8 σχήματος: more likely than the manuscript reading σώματος: 13 χιτῶνιόντι πιναρὸν . . . καὶ σχῆμα δουλοπρεπές, *Timon* 54 ὁ τὸ σχῆμα εὐσταλής. τὸ εὐτελές 'shabbiness'. ἀπὸ . . . τοιούτων ὀρμώμενος = 'working in such conditions', literally 'starting from such things'. She is referring to grimy workshops rather than humble origins. Φειδίας . . . Πολύκλειτος . . . Μύρων . . . Πραξιτέλης: celebrated names in Classical Greek sculpture. The first three flourished in the mid fifth century BC, Praxiteles in the fourth. Phidias' statue of Zeus at Olympia (*Timon* 4 ἐκόθησο . . . n.) and Polyclitus' of Hera at Argos, both sumptuously produced from precious metals and ivory, were particularly famous. Myron worked in bronze, Praxiteles in marble. ἔδειξε: revealed him in his true glory. προσκυνοῦνται . . . μετὰ τῶν θεῶν: those who worship in the presence of these statues also honour their makers. ζηλωτὸν . . . ἀποδείξεις 'will make him seem fortunate in the eyes of others', the object of ζῆλος but not of φθόνος (7 fin.): LSJ ἀποδεικνύμι A.II.2. διαπταίονσα καὶ βαρβαρίζουσα πᾶμπολλα 'often stumbling over her words and uttering uncouth Greek': she is unaccustomed to public speaking. These faults are not reproduced in Sculpture's speech, which, though clearly briefer and less eloquent than that of her rival, has

just ended with a tricolon. It has been suggested that βαρβαρίζουσα implies that she spoke Aramaic, a language probably known to Lucian. At *Twice Accused* 27 he refers to his Syrian origins and has the personified Rhetoric say that she educated him βάρβαρον ἔτι τὴν φωνὴν καὶ μονονουχὶ κἀνδυν ἐνδεδυκῶτα εἰς τὸν Ἀσσύριον τρόπον ('still barbarous in speech and virtually dressed in a double cloak, Syrian-fashion'); there the βάρβαρος φωνή may be Aramaic rather than bad Greek. But in *The Dream* there is no reference to Lucian's Syrian origins, and πᾶμπολλα and the close link with διαπταίονσα suggest faulty enunciation or an odd accent rather than a non-Greek language. See Russell (1979) 122, and on Greek and Aramaic in Lucian's native region Bickerman (1988) ch. 1, Millar (1993) 454–6, Brock (1994) 149–60. οὐ . . . γένοιο: in Classical Greek οὐκ ἄν γένοιο would be expected, but apodosis of this sort without ἄν are not unusual in Lucian: see Macleod (1977) 217, 221–2. σπουδῇ implies keenness, haste and effort. συνείρουσα 'stringing her words together', not pausing for effect or presenting her case in the best way; cf. *Timon* 9 μεγάλην τῇ φωνῇ συνειρόντων. Here (though not in *Timon*) there may be a reference to the so-called λέξις εἰρομένη, the 'running style' which did not use balanced, periodic sentences. It is called old-fashioned by Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1409a29). οὐκέτι . . . διέφυγεν: so little impression did she make. There is a slight contradiction with the end of §5, where he said that every detail remains vivid.

9 Culture pours scorn on Sculpture's claim that technical skill brings respect. Even the best artists, she argues, are generally considered mere artisans, and their status remains low. ἤδη συνήθης σοι καὶ γνωρίμη: because he already has the rudiments of education. εἰς τέλος 'fully'. ἡλίκᾳ . . . τὰ ἀγαθὰ πορίῃ 'how little the benefits you will get' (fut. of πορίζομαι). οὐδὲν . . . ὅτι μὴ . . . ἔσῃ 'in all respects you will be', literally 'there is nothing in respect of which you will not be'. Here ὅτι is pronominal and μὴ is the regular negative: LSJ ὅ τι II.1. τεθειμένος: perf. mid. part. (in form the same as the passive). ὀλίγα καὶ ἀγεννή λαμβάνων 'earning small and sordid wages'. εὐτελής τὴν πρόδοον 'putting on a poor show when you appear in public'. φίλοις . . . ἐχθροῖς . . . τοῖς πολίταις 'friends . . . enemies . . . his fellow-citizens'. ἐπιδικάσιμος 'sought after', originally perhaps as a supporter in a legal case. Macleod ad loc. is probably right to suggest that this word and πρόδοον evoke a picture of the Roman *patronus* and his retinue of dependent *clientes*, whom he would be expected to support in litigation. αὐτὸ μόνον 'merely'. τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολλοῦ δήμου εἷς: an expansion of the expression εἰς τῶν πολλῶν, 'an ordinary fellow'. τὸν λέγειν δυνάμενον θεραπεύων: unable to speak well yourself, you will have to cultivate those who can, either because only they can represent your interests in court, or because you fear they may otherwise succeed against you in litigation (cf. Plato, *Gorg.* 452e). λαγὼ βίον ζῶν 'living the life of a hare', proverbial for its timid vulnerability. This is another allusion to Demosthenes' speech *On the Crown*, where the phrase is used of the cowardly Aeschines' lurking life (263).

ἔρμαιον: a gift of Hermes, who brings good luck and is ironically the god most carved by the carver of herms (cf. 2 ἔρμογλύφος n.). His social superior will be able to exploit this naive 'godsend' for his own purposes. οἷος γὰρ ἂν ᾦς 'no matter what you might be (in your profession)'. βάνανσος καὶ χειρῶνας καὶ ἀποχειροβίωτος νομισθήσῃ: a derogatory tricolon to emphasise the lowly status of manual labour. Cf. 13 χαμαιπετής καὶ χαμαιζήλος καὶ πάντα τρόπον ταπεινός. On βάνανσος see 2 τίνα τέχνην τῶν βαναύσων n.

10 The intellectual and moral benefits of education and culture. These are given less prominence than the social advantages, which are listed at much greater length in §§ 11–13; it is noticeable that she emphasises the superficial attractions of culture (κατακοσμήσω . . . κοσμήμασι . . . κόσμος) and the fact that the learning process will be brief (οὐκ εἰς μακράν, 11 μετ' ὀλίγον). ἀπαγγεῖλῶ governs both πράξεις and λόγους. πάντων ὡς εἰπεῖν 'all, so to speak', 'almost everything': LSJ εἶπον 1.2. ὅπερ σου κυριώτατόν ἐστιν 'the part of you which has ultimate control', the most vital and most in need of education. Here Culture appropriates philosophical terminology: Plato, *Alcib.* 113d οὐ γὰρ που κυριώτερόν γε οὐδὲν ἂν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν φήσαιμεν ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν, Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1168b30 4. ἐπιεικεία 'reasonableness', literally 'a yielding disposition' (from εἰκείν). ἀκήρατος ὡς ἀληθῶς 'truly pure'. παλαιὸν . . . νῦν . . . τὰ μέλλοντα: Culture promises universal knowledge. From reading history her pupil will learn about the past, and reflection on past events makes it possible to understand what must come about (γενέσθαι δέον) in current affairs and to foresee future developments (= πρόνοια). The words are reminiscent of the Muses' speech to Hesiod at the beginning of the *Theogony* ἐπέπνευσαν δέ μοι αὐδὴν ἰ θεσπιν, ἵνα κλείοιμι τὰ τ' ἐσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα (31–2), but here they sound ironically exaggerated. See further pp. 93 4. ὅλως 'in short', 'in a word': *Sea Gods* 2.2 οὐκέτι ὅλως ἐν ἔμαντοῦ ᾦν, LSJ ὅλος III.2. τὰ τε θεῖα τὰ τ' ἀνθρώπινα: theology, philosophy, history. διδάξομαι: one would expect διδάξω here, if the distinction made in § 2 n. is to be observed; but Culture may mean that she will *ensure that he is taught* all these things.

11 In this and the following section Culture tackles head-on points raised in the speech of Sculpture: it is good to be envied (~ 7 φθόνου . . . ἀλλότριος ἔση, 8 κλεινός, ζηλωτῶν δὲ καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀποδείξεις), to dress finely (~ 8 τῆς ἐσθήτης τὸ πιναρόν) and to travel abroad as a well-known figure (~ 7 οὐποτε ἄπει ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλλοδαπήν). ὁ τοῦ δέινος 'son of someone-or-other': LSJ δείνα 1. ὁ βουλευσάμενός τι περὶ ὄγεννοῦς οὕτω τέχνης 'you who have toyed with the idea of a trade so humble'. μετ' ὀλίγου 'soon'. ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις εὐδοκιμῶν 'famed for your excellent qualities' (neut. pl.); cf. 13 τὸ ἐπὶ λόγοις εὐδοκιμεῖν. ὑπὸ τῶν . . . προϋχόντων ἀποβλεπόμενος: i.e. not ἀεὶ τὸν προϋχόντα ὑποπτήσων (9). Here ἀποβλέπω = 'admire': LSJ 1.4. ἀρχῆς

. . . καὶ προεδρίας ἀξιούμενος: on the public status and τιμὴ of sophists see p. 5. προεδρίας: the best seats at public gatherings such as games and the theatre. Cf. *Sigma vs Tau* 5, *Timon* 38. γνωρίσματα 'tokens of recognition', with reference to ἀγνῶς in the preceding sentence. κινήσας 'nudging'. Οὗτος ἐκείνος 'That's him!' Cf. Persius 1.28 *at pulchrum est digito monstrari et dicier 'hic est!'*

12 ἂν = ἐάν. The form ᾦν occurs below. θαυμάζοντες . . . τε τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν λόγων 'admiring you for your forceful eloquence'. With verbs expressing emotion the genitive case often denotes the cause (Goodwin § 1126, Smyth § 1405). σπουδῆς ἄξιον 'worthy of serious attention', i.e. a crisis of some sort. τῆς εὐποτίας: in being father of a famous son. ὡς ἄρα: ἄρα is often found with ὡς in unverifiable statements: *GP* 38 9. καὶ 'even'. τοῦτ' οὖν σοι περιποιήσω 'I shall secure this fate for you'. καὶ γὰρ ᾦν 'for even if . . .'. συνὼν τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις καὶ προσομιλῶν τοῖς ἀρίστοις: by virtue of his works being always in circulation. Here ἀρίστοις is masculine (contrast 11 ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις εὐδοκιμῶν). τίνος υἱὸν ὄντα: both Demosthenes' father and his mother were spoken of disparagingly by the orator's opponents. The mother was alleged to be of Scythian stock (Aeschines, *In Ctes.* 171 2), the father to have been a lowly sword-manufacturer. It seems, however, that the father was a prosperous Athenian citizen who gained part of his considerable income from swords (Plut. *Dem.* 4); and his grandfather was a general. Here it suits the persuasive purposes of Culture to maintain the lowly background of these orators; not in order to insult them, but to magnify their subsequent achievements. τυμπανιστρίας υἱός: in his speech *On the Crown* Demosthenes, using the slander characteristic of ancient oratory, calls Aeschines 'son of a tambourine-player' (284), a type of woman often sexually available at parties and festivals. Again Culture turns the embarrassing fact to advantage. See p. 96. Φίλιππος . . . ἐθεράπευεν: even so great a man as Philip of Macedon cultivated the humbly-born Aeschines, since he had need of his oratorical powers to represent Macedonian interests at Athens (against Demosthenes, principally). ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης: see p. 94 on Socrates' career as sculptor. τῇ Ἑρμογλυφικῇ: see 2 ἔρμογλύφος n. on the more general significance of this word. ὡς ἐμέ: ὡς, 'towards', is used as a preposition only with reference to persons: LSJ c. III. αἰδεταὶ 'his praises are sung', 'he is celebrated'.

13 A long paratactic sentence by way of peroration. The thought moves from a summary of the advantages just enumerated (ἀφεις . . . εὐδαιμονίζεσθαι) via a reminder of the disadvantages of Sculpture (χιτώνιον . . . ταπεινός) to a resounding denunciation of the unambitious and limited results of concentrating on mere τέχνη at the expense of Culture (ἀλλὰ . . . λαθῶν). σχῆμα εὐπρεπές: in this context it becomes relevant that σχῆμα, as well as referring to general deportment, can also mean 'figure of speech' (LSJ 7.b); a similar nuance was

perhaps already present in the phrase σχῆμα εὐπρεπής in §6, where ἀναβολήν too may have rhetorical overtones (LSJ ἀναβάλλω B.1, ἀναβολή II.1). **μοχλία** 'crowbars': diminutive of μοχλός. **κάτω νενευκώς**: the posture of a stonemason as he bends over his work is taken by Culture to symbolise the lowly and grovelling nature of an uneducated life. **ἀνακύπτων**: cf. Plato, *Phaedrus* 249c ἡ ψυχὴ . . . ὑπεριδούσα ἃ νῦν εἶναι φαμεν, καὶ ἀνακύψασα εἰς τὸ ὄν ὄντως. Walking upright is uniquely human behaviour (Xen. *Mem.* 1.4.11), and constantly stooping must make a man less than fully human. **εὐρυθμα** 'harmonious', 'in proportion'. **ἀτιμότερον ποιῶν σεαυτὸν λίθων**: an allusion to a saying of Socrates: 'He used to say that he was surprised that sculptors of statues paid such attention to creating a likeness (ὅπως ὁμοιότατος ἔσται) but took no care not to be like stone (ὁμοίους τῷ λίθῳ) themselves' (Diog. Laer. 2.33). **ἀτιμότερον . . . λίθων**: these closing words of Culture are echoed by the narrator himself in his conclusion (18): he has learned his lesson well, and has risen above his menial occupation.

**14** **ἀπεφηνάμην** 'I gave my decision' (sc. τὴν γνώμην): LSJ ἀποφαίνομαι B.11.1. εἰς νοῦν ἦλθεν ἡ σκυτάλη: cf. 4 τὴν σκυτάλην ἐννοῶν, 16 ἐκταραχθεὶς πρὸς τὸν τῶν πλεγῶν φόβον. The beating he received is the most important factor in his decision (καὶ μάλιστα ἐπεὶ . . .): see p. 96. **εὐθύς . . . ἀρχομένῳ μοι** 'as soon as I had begun': εὐθύς goes idiomatically with the participle in this sentence of interlaced word order: LSJ B.11.1. **ἐνετρίψατο** 'inflicted'. Probably the subject is ἡ σκυτάλη rather than ἡ ἄμορφος ἐκείνη understood from above: the stick looms large in his thoughts and is virtually personified. **συνέπριε** 'gnashed together'. **ὥσπερ τὴν Νιδόβην ἀκούομεν**: Niobe boasted that her numerous offspring were superior to the twins of the goddess Leto; whereupon the twins (Apollo and Artemis) slew them all. Niobe, mourning with incessant tears, was at last turned into a dripping crag on Mt Sipylus in her native Lydia. The story is told by Achilles at *Il.* 24.602–17, and most fully by Ovid (*Met.* 6.146–312). **ἐπεπῆγαι καὶ εἰς λίθον μετεβέβλητο**: the following sentence humorously implies that this metamorphosis was matter for wonder, when in fact it was entirely appropriate that Sculpture should turn to stone.

**15** **καὶ ἐλθέ ἤδη** 'so come at once'. **Πηγάσῳ**: the winged horse of Bellerophon. **μὴ ἀκολουθήσας ἐμοί** 'if you had not followed me'; the negative is μὴ because the participle has conditional force. **ἀρθεῖς . . . εἰς ὕψος**: as the boy's wax-moulding can be allegorised as representative of his literary efforts (§2; see p. 95), so his flight high above mankind suggests his social elevation, the literary heights to which he aspires, and the ironically detached perspective adopted in many Lucianic works. **καθάπερ ὁ Τριπτόλεμος ἀποσπείρων τι εἰς τὴν γῆν**: Triptolemus was an Athenian culture-hero. In art he is depicted with Demeter in her dragon chariot, holding ears of corn and travelling the world with

the goddess to spread knowledge of agriculture. See Richardson on *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 153, Ovid, *Met.* 5.642–61. **οὐκέτι μέμνημαι . . . ἦν**: the chariot-ride represents Lucian's future travels as a speaker, and what he modestly refrains from mentioning is that the rhetorical performances 'sown' by him during his travels have brought him worldwide fame. **καθ' οὓς** 'over whom', indefinite, as the optative shows; hence the imperfect tense of παρέπεμπον, 'sent me on my way', 'escorted me'.

**16** **τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσιν ἐκείνοις**: sc. δείξασα. **εὐπάμφος τις** 'a well-dressed gentleman'. Culture has fulfilled her promise to make him a fine figure (11, 13). **καταλαβοῦσα** 'finding': LSJ II.2. **περιμένοντα**: sc. με: 'awaiting my return'. Cf. 14 init. **περιμείνας**. **καὶ τι καὶ** 'to some extent': she delicately ventured to remind him: LSJ *τις* A.11.1. **οἷα μικροῦ δεῖν περὶ ἐμοῦ ἐβουλεύσαντο** 'what my family had very nearly decided about me'. For adverbial μικροῦ δεῖν = 'almost' cf. 6 μικροῦ n. **ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν**: for the parenthetical infinitive phrase cf. μικροῦ δεῖν above, LSJ δοκέω II.4.a.

**17** The dignified flight of fancy is rudely brought down to earth by a pair of anonymous hecklers who complain at the tedious length of the account. The second speaker jokingly supposes that it must have been a night as long as that during which Heracles was conceived by Zeus when he slept with Alcmena and prolonged the night to enjoy her more; this is an episode now best known from the *Amphitryo* of Plautus. **μεταξὺ λέγοντος** 'meanwhile, in the middle of my discourse': μεταξύ is an adverb, λέγοντος being genitive absolute: LSJ μεταξύ 1.2. *The Dream* is described as in process of performance before an audience. **Ἡράκλεις**: a witty oath which slyly alludes to the Choice of Heracles as source for Lucian's dream, and looks forward to the next speaker's reference to the 'long night'. **δικανικόν** 'lawcourt-like': prolix and tedious. **τάχα που** 'perhaps'. **τί ἐπῆλθεν αὐτῷ**: 'whatever can have come over him to . . .?' **μὴ . . . ὑπέληφεν**: 'surely he hasn't taken us to be dream-interpreters of some sort?' For (ἄρα) μὴ + indicative introducing a question to which a negative answer is expected see LSJ μὴ C.1.1. Professional dream-interpreters (δνειρῶν ἐξηγηταί/ὑποκριταί, δνειροπόλοι, δνειροκριταί) were to be found particularly in the precincts of temples where worshippers 'incubated' in the hope of divine guidance through dreams: *True Histories* 2.33, Van Lieshout (1980) 165–216. They would have to listen to rambling and incoherent accounts of ill-remembered nonsense. **ἡ ψυχρολογία**: describing something as ψυχρόν is roughly the equivalent of saying that it falls flat. There may be a further allusion to Demosthenes' *On the Crown*: the orator asks that in his denunciation of Aeschines he should not be accused of ψυχρότης, 'bad taste' (256). **ὁ Ξενοφῶν . . . τὸ ἐνύπνιον**: the reference is to *Anab.* 3.1.11–12. The troops he is accompanying are at a loss, and Xenophon dreams that his father's house is set on fire by a bolt of

lightning. He says that at the time he was in doubt how to interpret the dream: was it a happy portent because a φῶς μέγα had come from Zeus, or a bad omen because the house seemed surrounded by dangerous fire? He adds that only from his later success did it become clear that the dream had been a good one. Lucian seems to suggest that Xenophon told of his dream at the time, but in fact we are not told that he did so (καὶ ταῦτα . . . πραγμάτων certainly implies this, as may διηγούμενος). Perhaps Lucian has confused the dream at 3.1.11 12 with that at 4.3.8, which is told immediately and interpreted by Xenophon as a good dream. ἴστε γάρ: educated listeners will know the story: an appeal to shared Paideia. οὐχ: the negative is resumed from οὐδέ above; in a positive sentence the οὐδὲ γάρ would have been καὶ γάρ. On accumulation of negatives see LSJ οὐ c.1. ὑπόκρισιν picks up ὑποκριτάς, 'interpreters', above: 'as a subject for interpretation'. οὐδ' ὥς φλυαρεῖν ἐγνωκώς 'not as having decided to talk rubbish', picking up ληρῆσαι above: LSJ γινώσκω II.1. οὐδ' ὥς is not in series with ὥς ἐδόκει above. καὶ ταῦτα 'especially since', literally 'and at that'. ἀπογνώσει πραγμάτων 'in despair at how things stood', literally 'in despair of events'. Xenophon speaks of the general ἀπορία at this point (*Anab.* 3.1.11). τι καὶ χρήσιμον: his telling his dream contributed something useful at the time *as well as* being part of an entertaining narrative.

18 *The Dream* has been not only a piece of entertainment, but also a proreptic (πρὸς . . . τρέπωνται), a story which sets up its narrator as an example (παράδειγμα) to the young of how perseverance can lead a man of humble status to considerable fame. The means of this elevation is Culture. παιδείας ἔχωνται: cf. 2 ὥς . . . εἶχεν n. τὴν ἥττω: sc. τέχνην. εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι: parenthetical: 'I know it well': LSJ \*εἶδω B.8. μηδέν: see p. 6. πρὸς 'in the face of': LSJ C.III.1. ἐπανελήλυθα suggests that he is speaking in his native city after a period of absence. εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο 'if nothing else'. οὐδενὸς γοῦν τῶν λιθογλύφων ἀδοξότερος 'no less famous than any stone-carver, at any rate'. It is not clear whether he means 'any stone-carver at all' or 'any stone-carver here'. The former claim would show that Culture had fulfilled her promises to him; the latter would end the talk with typically Lucianic mock-modesty.

## II 'YOU'RE A LITERARY PROMETHEUS'

In *The Dream* Lucian gave an account of how he abandoned wax-moulding and sculpture to become a literary artist. In *'You're a Literary Prometheus'*, another short essay, he explores some aspects of that art while drawing an explicit analogy between his writing and the moulding of clay figures. The work purports to be a response to a person who enigmatically said that Lucian was 'a literary Prometheus'. It is possible that this remark was, or is supposed to have been, addressed to him after a performance of his dialogue *Prometheus*, which contains a long and ingenious defence speech by Prometheus, and in which he is called by Hermes πανουργότατος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις (4) and γενναῖον σοφιστήν (20). *A Literary Prometheus* examines with characteristic rhetorical ingenuity some possible implications of the ambiguous utterance. The title, Πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, Προμηθεὺς εἰ ἐν λόγοις, does not help a reader to decide whether the remark was intended as praise or criticism, since πρὸς in speech titles, though it often means 'against', can also mean 'in response to'. The question is therefore left open, and Lucian's is the only guide to interpretation.

He begins with negative connotations of the remark (1-2): it may be that his works are mere 'clay', the material from which Prometheus formed mankind; or it may be that the speaker was ironically contrasting the σοφία and προμήθεια of Prometheus with Lucian's lack of those qualities; or perhaps there is a contrast between lawyers' dealing with real-life matters and the 'fragile' work of a literary artist who aims to please but is at a remove from reality. Next he examines the positive connotations, which he thinks amount to praise for his κοινότης. But with this he is not happy: novelty, a result of grotesquerie or incongruity, must be united with χάρις if a work is to be satisfactory (3). To illustrate this point he tells an anecdote about King Ptolemy, who hoped to impress his people by displaying a black camel and a piebald man, but only succeeded in eliciting fear, derision and disgust (4). Lucian is afraid that, like those Frankensteinian monstrosities, or like the fabulous hippocentaur, his novel combination of dialogue and comedy will evoke distaste and mockery (5): they are an ill-matched pair, their union is an uneasy one (6), and readers may be disappointed in both respects (6-7). Reverting finally to the theme of novelty, he consoles himself with the thought that, unlike Prometheus, he is at least not a thief (= plagiarist). Now that he has found his literary bent, there is no going back (7).

The piece is brief and relatively informal. Some critics have classified it as a προλαλιά, a chatty introductory work composed as *hors d'œuvre* for a rhetorical performance; but its being addressed to an individual in the manner of an open letter makes that less likely. Certainly it is a characteristically epideictic work. While maintaining the fiction of address to a single interlocutor (1 φῆις, ὦ ἄριστε, 2 οἶσθα, 3 εὖ ἴσθι, 5 οὐ γὰρ ἂν φαίης, 7 τῶι σῶι) Lucian explores various possible implications, positive and negative, of the remark, and in doing so displays (2 ἐπιδεικνύμεθα) his skill in interpretation and exegesis as well as his ability



to argue both sides of a case. He adopts a modest and self-disparaging tone, expressing his fear that the novelty for which he is praised results from an unhappy combination of incompatible elements (5 δέδοικα . . . μή, 7 δέδισα τοίνυν μή); but at the same time as he expresses that fear he manufactures a dialogue, both with the imaginary interlocutor and with a consoling friend in §3, which contains comic elements and which treats with a light touch the serious question of its author's literary qualities. He ventures to hope that his work may be appreciated as more than a mere curiosity (5 τί οὖν; . . .); and the implication is that those of sufficient culture will perceive its true worth. By the end of the work Lucian has neither resolved the ambiguity of the remark nor explained how he is to bring about the union of dialogue and comedy; but the charm with which he presents his quandary and the effortlessly apt allusions to Plato and Aristophanes enact success precisely as it is being put in doubt.

It is characteristic of Lucian to re-use ideas and images. The hippocentaur, employed here to illustrate the strangely hybrid nature of a mixture of dialogue and comedy, is found twice more in his works. In the *Zeuxis*, which is in several ways similar to *A Literary Prometheus*, he again argues that κοινότης and νεωτερισμός are not enough without χάρις Ἀττική, νοῦς, etc., and he tells an anecdote about the painter Zeuxis who was annoyed when the public admired his picture of a hippocentaur family not for the τέχνη of the skilfully painted transition from horse-body to human, but for the strangeness of its subject matter (3 7); and he concludes with the hope that his own audience will be sufficient connoisseurs of literature to be able to appreciate fully both aspects of his work (12). Here the hippocentaurs provide not a negative paradigm of unsuccessful literary fusion but an illustration of Lucian's art itself; and he hopes that his originality will not obscure other, more lasting, qualities.

The hippocentaurs appear a third time in *Twice Accused*, where Lucian (called 'the Syrian') is arraigned by Rhetoric and Dialogue on charges respectively of neglect and ὕβρις (cf. his characterisation of the hippocentaur as ὕβριστότατος at *Lit. Prom.* 5). Rhetoric says that she took him in hand, married him when he was still unknown, and made him famous, but that she now finds he is having an affair with Dialogue (26–9). Lucian responds that she had become too generous with her favours (that is, she had prostituted her talents), and claims that in middle age he should now be turning to philosophy (30–2). Next he is accused by Dialogue, who claims to have brought him down to earth when he was ἀεροβατῶν (cf. *Lit. Prom.* 6), but who now feels soiled by being made to associate with elements such as jesting, Cynicism, and the comic poets Aristophanes and Eupolis. Dialogue continues, κρᾶσίν τινα παράδοξον κέκραμαι καὶ οὔτε πεζός εἰμι οὔτε ἐπὶ τῶν μέτρων βέβηκα, ἀλλὰ ἵπποκενταύρου δίκην σύνθετόν τι καὶ ξένον φάσμα τοῖς ἀκούουσι δοκῶ, 'I have undergone a strange mixing, my feet are neither metrical nor pedestrian, but like a hippocentaur I seem to those who hear me to be a strange compound creature' (33). Lucian in defence argues that Dialogue has no cause for complaint, since he has been made more attractive by the mixture (34). Naturally the satirist is acquitted (35). Here again the hippocentaur image is used

to represent a synthesis, this time of prose and verse, in which Lucian, in imitation perhaps of Menippus, indulged in such dialogues as *Zeus Rants*. The compound creature is a satiric response to the Aristotelian theory of literary unity and the fitting relation of parts to whole expressed most memorably at the beginning of Horace's *Ars poetica*: *humano capiti ceruicem pictor equinam | iungere si uelit . . . risum teneatis, amici?* 'If a painter wished to link a horse's neck to a human head . . . could you refrain from laughing, my friends?' (1–5).

The hippocentaur is, then, a recurring image for this new synthesis of dialogue and comedy, prose and verse. And although Lucian is at pains to insist that a reputation for novelty alone does not satisfy him, it is clear that this aspect of his work has brought him fame. The cross-breeding or hybridisation of genres is, he affirms, distinctively strange; and that notion of strangeness can be linked with Lucian's own status as 'barbarian' and stranger (ξένος). Lucian, 'the Syrian', product of a remote land far from the centre of culture, has through an eccentric blend of traditional literary elements found fame and fortune; and there is a creative tension, in *A Literary Prometheus* as in many other of his works, between these constituent elements just as there is between the distant origins and shared culture of their author. In both cases it is that strange distancing, and the strangely detached persona of the satirist, which make possible the serio-comic perspective on life so characteristic of much of his writing. Prometheus, mediator between gods and men, creator of lifelike of living – figures, clever and ingenious but risking the resentment of those he provokes, is a fine mythical analogue for Lucian the satirist.

### Bibliography

Text: Macleod (OCT) iv 85–9. Translations: Kilburn vi 417–27, Sidwell 5–8, 353. On προλαλία: Nesselrath (1990), Pernot (1993) 85 7, 117 20. General: Macleod (1956), Branham (1989) 38–46, Romm (1990), Camerotto (1998) 76–140, Whitmarsh (2001) 75 8.

Ι κατὰ τοῦτο 'in this respect': LSJ κατὰ B.IV.2. ὡς πηλίνων κάμοι τῶν ἔργων ὄντων 'that my works, too, are of clay' (sc. φήις). For ὡς with the gen. absolute in indirect speech see *GMT* §§917, 918, LSJ C.I.3. γνωρίζω 'I acknowledge <as true>'. ἀκούειν 'to hear myself called': LSJ III.2. ἐμοί: in contrast to the clay used by Prometheus, which was of better quality. Similarly Juvenal speaks of superior people being made of better Promethean clay (14.34 5); cf. Herondas 2.28–9. The story of Prometheus moulding the first human from clay is referred to by several writers from the fifth century BC onwards, though it may be much older: see Dunbar on Ar. *Birds* 686. Hesiod's account has the human race befriended, but not created, by Prometheus. ὁ πηλὸς οἶος ἐκ τριόδου, βόρβορος τις παρὰ μικρόν: common-or-garden muddy material such as might be seen in 'pot-holes' in the street, not the fine china clay used by potters. With typical satiric self-depreciation Lucian characterises his writing as trite, everyday, hackneyed, trivial (from *trivium* = τρίδος). Rubbish was dumped at crossroads, and



beggars and idlers would lounge there (cf. *Menippus* 17). **παρὰ μικρόν** 'virtually': LSJ μικρός III.5.c. **ὥς δῆθεν** 'as if indeed'. These words usually imply irony. **ἐπιφηνίζεις** 'apply the name of': LSJ II.2. **τὸν σοφώτατον τῶν Τιτάνων**: Prometheus and the foolish Epimetheus (7), together with Atlas and Menoetius, were according to Hesiod the four children of the Titan Iapetus (*Theog.* 507-11). **δρα μή τις** 'see to it that someone doesn't . . .', 'don't be surprised if . . .': LSJ δράω I.3. **εἰρωνεύειν . . . καὶ μυκτῆρα οἶον τὸν Ἀττικόν** 'disingenuousness and Attic-style sneering'. **μυκτῆρ** is sneering sarcasm, the nose being wrinkled in distaste and mockery (Persius 5.91 *rugosaque sanna*). The Athenians were notorious for their critical wit, Socrates for his εἰρωνεία. Here Lucian seems indebted to the description of Socrates by Timo of Phlius (3rd cent. BC) in his *Silloi* or *Lampoons* as μυκτῆρ ῥητορόμυκτος, ὑπάττικος εἰρωνευτής (*SH* 799.3). **ἦ . . . γάρ** 'What!' γάρ here expresses surprise: cf. 7 ἦ παρὰ τοῦ γάρ ἂν ἐκλέπτομεν; **περιττή** 'extraordinary', or perhaps 'subtle': LSJ I.3, II.5. **προμήθεια** 'fore-sight', referring of course to the name of Prometheus. **ἔμοιγε ἱκανόν** 'it is enough for me . . .', sc. ἐστί. **μή πάνυ . . . γήινα** 'not entirely earthy', i.e. at least slightly above the lowest level of literature (cf. Lat. *humilis*, from *humus*). **μηδὲ κοιμῆι ἄξια τοῦ Καυκάσου** 'not entirely deserving the Caucasus': not so bad that their author deserves to be chained to the Caucasian crag and have his liver daily devoured by a vulture, the punishment of Prometheus (Hes. *Theog.* 521-5). Cf. 3 fin. **ἄξιος . . . ὑπὸ ἐκκαίδεκα γυπῶν κείρεσθαι**. **πόσῳ δικαιότερον** 'how much more justly . . .', a term suitable for lawyers; there is a word-play with δίκαις below. **ξὺν ἀληθείᾳ ποιούμενοι τοὺς ἀγῶνας** 'conducting trials in real life'; that is, prosecuting in spoken words face-to-face, not criticising in works of literature. ἀγών is both 'struggle' and 'trial'. There is perhaps also an ironic ambiguity in ξὺν ἀληθείᾳ, since strict regard for truth was not a noted characteristic of Greek lawcourt speakers. **ζῶα . . . καὶ ἔμψυχα ὑμῖν τὰ ἔργα**: lawyers deal with 'the real world'. The idea is underscored by a reference to Plato, *Phaedrus* 276a, where Socrates contrasts the spoken with the written word: τὸν τοῦ εἰδότος λόγον λέγεις ζῶντα καὶ ἔμψυχον, οὗ δ' γεγραμμένος εἰδῶλον ἂν τι λέγοιτο δικαίως. **ὥς ἀληθῶς** 'really': LSJ ἀληθής III.b.1. **τὸ θερμὸν αὐτῶν ἐστί διάπυρον** 'their heat is really fiery': heated legal arguments are implicitly compared to the heat of life which Prometheus gave to his human creations. Relevant, too, is the fact that διάπυρος can mean 'full of bright ideas': Men. *Dysc.* 183-4 (of a resourceful slave) ἔχει <τι> διάπυρον καὶ πραγμάτων ἢ ἔμπειρός ἐστι παντοδαπῶν. **καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τοῦ Προμηθέως ἂν εἴη**: Prometheus stole fire for mortals when it was withheld from them by Zeus (Hes. *Theog.* 561-70, *WD* 49-52). **πλὴν εἰ μή ἐν διαλλάττοιτε** 'except that you differ in one thing'; ἐν is accusative of respect. **χρυσᾶ ὑμῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς τὰ πλάσματα**: these words can be taken as either praise or insult to lawyers (LSJ πλάσμα III.1, II.1.b): either 'your style is golden', i.e. you are golden-tongued (χρυσόστομοι), or 'your fictions are golden', i.e. you are handsomely paid for lying.

**2 οἱ ἐς τὰ πλήθη παριόντες** 'who come to speak before crowds of people'. Lucian refers to his epideictic performances and lectures (ἐπιδεικνύμεθα, ἀκροάσεις; see pp. 100, 109. **πάρειμι** (from εἶμι, 'go') is here used in the specialised sense of coming forward to speak: LSJ IV.2. **ἐπαγγέλλοντες** 'proclaiming', 'advertising'. **εἶδωλα . . . κοροπλάθοις**: sophists' productions are merely inferior clay 'figures', and do not have true life breathed into them (unlike the speeches of orators, which engage with real life: §1). **τὸ . . . ὅλον ἐν πηλῶι . . . ἢ πλαστική**: sc. ἐστί: 'our moulding is entirely in clay'. **κατὰ ταῦτά** 'in the same way as . . .'. For this phrase + dat. cf. *Fly* 1 κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις. **τοῖς κοροπλάθοις** 'makers of small figures', 'dollmakers'. Lucian probably has this word from Plato's *Theaetetus* 147b, where the nature of πηλός is being discussed. Children's dolls were generally made of pot or wood. (At *Lexiph.* 22 Lucian uses the same word again in a literary context, speaking of works which look attractive but are 'fragile'.) **τὰ δ' ἄλλα** 'in other respects'. **κίνησις ὁμοία**: sc. τῇ κινήσει τῶν ἔμψυχων. **τέρψις ἄλλως καὶ παιδιὰ** 'pleasure and play without purpose': LSJ ἄλλως II.3. **μοι ἐνθυμείσθαι ἔπεισι** 'it occurs to me to consider': LSJ ἔπειμι (B) I.2.b. **μή ἄρα** 'whether, after all': ἄρα implies a belated realisation of the truth: *GP* 37 8. **λέγοις**: Classical Attic would have the indicative here; but cf. p. 6, Macleod (1977). **ὁ κωμικός**: the author is unknown (adesp. 461 K-A). Speculation on author and context may be found in Gargiulo (1992). **Κλέων Προμηθεὺς ἐστί μετὰ τὰ πράγματα** 'Cleon's a Prometheus after the event'. Cleon, a politician and demagogue during the early years of the Peloponnesian War, was a popular object of attack in comedy, most notably in the *Knights* of Aristophanes. Here there is play on Προ- and μετά, 'before' and 'after': he is 'wise after the event'. Perhaps Cleon was said to be ingenious, but in ideas that came too late to be useful. There may be a reference to the name Epimetheus: see 7 Ἐπιμηθέως ἔργον n. **χυτράς καὶ ἱπνοποιούς** 'potters and kiln-workers'. χυτράς is from Plato, *Theaet.* 147a (cf. n. on τοῖς κοροπλάθοις above), where ἱπνοπλάθος, too, is used. **αὐτοὶ . . . Ἀθηναῖοι**: possibly a reference to other comic poets (adesp. 462 K-A). **πάντας ὅσοι πηλουργοί**: sc. ἦσαν. **ἢ καὶ τὴν ἐν πυρὶ . . . ὀπτησιν**: i.e. because Prometheus was linked with fire (having bestowed it on mankind) as well as with clay. **οἶμαι**: parenthetic: LSJ οἶομαι IV.1. **σοὶ . . . ὁ Προμηθεὺς** 'your calling me "Prometheus"'; the definite article here has the function of quotation marks in English. **τοῦτο βούλεται εἶναι** 'means this': LSJ βούλομαι III.1. **ἀποτετόξευται**: impersonal (sc. σοι). The metaphor is Platonic: *Theaet.* 180a ῥηματίσκια αἰνιγματώδη . . . ἀποτοξεύουσιν, 'letting fly with riddling phrases'. **ἐς**: with ἀποτετόξευται. He will have 'hit on' a witty phrase. **τὴν Ἀττικὴν δριμύτητα τῶν σκωμμάτων**: the fabled Attic wit (see I μυκτῆρα n.). **εὐθρυπτα** 'fragile'; in literary terms, insubstantial, ill-argued, not bearing close scrutiny.

**3 φαίη τις**: ἂν would be expected in Classical Attic (as in ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἂν εἴποι below); but cf. Macleod (1977) 215-16. **παραμυθούμενος**: probably 'excusing'

or 'palliating' the criticism (LSJ 4) rather than 'trying to console me' (ibid. 2); cf. πρὸς γε τὸ εὐφημότατον ἐξηγούμενος τὸ εἰρημένον below. οὐ ταῦτα 'not in this respect'. τέως 'until then'. ἐννοήσας 'having thought them up', having invented them: LSJ IV. τοιαῦτα τὰ ζῶια μορφώσας 'forming his creatures in such a way that . . .'. Without τὰ, which is not in the manuscripts, the sense is more awkward: 'forming such creatures as to . . .'. ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ: in Hesiod's account of the creation of woman as mankind's punishment for receiving fire from Prometheus, it is Athena who adorns the female made by Hephaestus (*Theog.* 573 ζῶσε δὲ καὶ κόσμησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη); and in the version of the story told in *Works and Days* Athena again plays a part, this time teaching the woman to weave (63-4). Plato has Protagoras adapt this feature of the story: Prometheus steals τὴν ἐντεχον σοφίαν and πῦρ from the joint temple of Athena and Hephaestus to equip mankind for life in the harsh world (321c; cf. *Politicus* 274c). πρὸς γε τὸ εὐφημότατον ἐξηγούμενος 'interpreting as auspiciously as possible'. νοῦς 'sense', 'meaning': LSJ νόος III. μηδὲ . . . ἐστίν 'and if no one could name some older model from which my work is descended', i.e. if there were no Classical precedent. μὴ οὐχὶ συντετριφῆθαι 'from being destroyed'. οὐδ' ἂν ὠφελήσειεν is constructed with μὴ οὐ and the infinitive as if it were a verb of denial or hindrance (for which see *GMT* §815). ἄμορφον ὄν 'as if it were unattractive'. ὑπὸ ἑκαίδεκα γυπῶν κείρεσθαι: this amusing exaggeration is used again by Lucian in the fifth *Dialogue of the Gods*, where Zeus begins by ranting against the captive Prometheus (1 ἐχρῆν . . . ὑπὸ ἑκαίδεκα γυπῶν μὴ μόνον κείρεσθαι το ἦπαρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὀρύττεσθαι), but ends by releasing him in return for vital information about Thetis. He uses the same joke a third time in the dialogue *Prometheus* (20). In the Hesiodic account and in the play *Prometheus Bound* it is a single eagle that daily devours Prometheus' liver (*Theog.* 521-5). The origin of the vultures and of the word κείρεσθαι is the Homeric description of the punishment of the notorious villain Tityus: γῦπε δέ μιν ἑκάτερθε παρημένω ἦπαρ ἔκειρον (*Od.* 11.578); cf. *Timon* 8 γυπῶν τοσούτων ὁ κακοδαίμων κειρόμενος τὸ ἦπαρ. πολὺ ἄμορφότερα τὰ μετὰ τοῦ ξένου αὐτὸ πεπονθότα: the sense of the argument seems clear: a work which inelegantly imitates a predecessor is ἄμορφον, but one which is inelegant and also has no model is ἄμορφότερον. τὸ ξένον is 'novelty', 'oddness' (LSJ B.III.1). The words αὐτὸ πεπονθότα are awkward and seem redundant: 'much uglier are the things which suffer this (sc. being ἄμορφα) when they are novel'; but the text is probably corrupt here. The claim to despise mere novelty contrasts with modern attitudes to originality and derivativeness. Ancient authors for the most part worked within established genres, and novelty (καινότης) was not admired for its own sake. Xenophon, for example, has the vapid sophist Hippias say πειρῶμαι καινὸν τι λέγειν αἰεὶ and criticise Socrates for sticking to a limited number of topics for discourse (*Mem.* 4.4.6). See p. 111.

4 Πτολεμαῖος . . . ὁ Λάγους: on Alexander's death in 323 BC his empire was divided up amongst his generals, and Ptolemy son of Lagus (367-282 BC) took

Egypt. He made Alexandria his capital and began monumental building works. The later Ptolemies, of whom the last was Cleopatra (69-30 BC), were his descendants. Lavish public shows and religious processions with parades of unusual and costly wonders were a feature of the regime. An account of such a procession in the reign of Ptolemy II by the historian Callixenus is extant: see Rice (1983). κάμηλον . . . Βακτριανὴν παμμέλαιναν: the Asiatic camel, with two humps, normally brown in colour but with a shaggy winter coat perhaps characterised as 'black' here. Citizens of Alexandria would have been familiar with the Arabian dromedary, which has a single hump. One might have expected astonishment to be caused rather by the novel shape than by the colour; but here and in the case of the bi-coloured man Lucian may be playing with the meaning of χρώμα as 'character of style in writing' (LSJ IV.1). δίχρωμον ἄνθρωπον: perhaps a sufferer from vitiligo, which results in irregular patches of depigmentation. 'Piebald negroes' were displayed as circus attractions until the mid twentieth century. ἀκριβῶς μέλαν 'absolutely black', 'jet black'. ἐς ὑπερβολὴν 'exceedingly', 'perfectly', 'extraordinarily': LSJ I.4. ἐπ' ἴσης μεμερισμένον: whether vertically or laterally is not stated. Vitiligo is not so regular. For the feminine adverb ἐπ' ἴσης cf. on *Dream* 1 οὐκ εἰς μακρόν and see LSJ ἴσος IV.2. ἐπεδείκνυτο: this word helps the analogy between Ptolemy's showpieces and Lucian's novel works, since ἐπιδείκνυμι is commonly used of sophists' (epideictic) performances: cf. 2 εἰδῶλα ἅττα ἐπιδεικνύμεθα. τὸ τελευταῖον 'finally': LSJ II.2. ἐκπλήξεν 'astound'. But the actual result was that they were stricken with panic and fear, another meaning of this verb. ὀλίγου: *Dream* 6 μικροῦ n. καίτοι 'although'. This use of the word, either like καίπερ with a participle or here with a finite verb, is very rare in Classical Greek but common in later writers. Δαρείου . . . Καμβύσου . . . Κύρου: sixth-century kings of Persia famous from Herodotus' account of the Persian Wars. κειμήλιον: there is perhaps word-play with κάμηλον. ὥς ἐπὶ τέρατι: monstrous births were considered to be bad omens. συνεῖς: aor. part. of συνίημι. In §3 the pres. part. συνιείς is used. ἐπ' αὐτοῖς: probably 'for these things' rather than 'among the Egyptians', since ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων follows immediately. οὐδὲ θαυμάζεται ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἡ καινότης: Egyptians were the least likely of all people to be impressed by novelty, being famed for their conservatism (*Hdt.* 2.79.1, 91.1). πρὸ αὐτῆς τὸ εὐρυθμον καὶ τὸ εὐμορφον κρίνουσι 'they preferred harmony and beauty to that quality (novelty)'. On κρίνω = 'prefer' (commonly προκρίνω) see LSJ II.7. μετέστησεν 'removed', 'had them taken away': LSJ μεθίστημι A.II.3. διὰ τιμῆς ἦγεν 'considered them to be valuable'; cf. Plato, *Rep.* 538e ἦγεν ἐν τιμῇ. πρὸ τοῦ 'formerly': LSJ πρὸ A.II.1. Θέσπιδι τῷ ἀλγητῇ: nothing is known of him. His name recalls that of the reputed founder of drama in Athens in the sixth century BC.

5 Lucian fears that his work may be found novel but unpleasing, like the camel or the hippocentaur, rather than a pleasing combination of elements, like the sweet drink compounded of milk and honey. τοῦμόν 'my work'. ἥ

... **θαυμάζουσι**: for alternation such as this between subjunctive and indicative cf. *Dream* 7 εἰ δ' ἐθέλοις . . . n., Macleod (1977) 215–16. **ἔτι**: they have not yet lost interest in its novelty. **οὐδὲ τὸ ἐκ δυοῖν τοῖν καλλίστοις συγκεῖσθαι** 'not even being composed of the two most attractive elements'. **οὐδὲ τοῦτο** 'not even this', resuming the subject τὸ . . . συγκεῖσθαι. **ἀπόχρη** 'suffices': LSJ ἀποχρώ α.π.α. **κατὰ τὸ σύμμετρον** 'in proportion': LSJ σύμμετρος π.2. **ἔστι** 'it is possible'. **οἶον** 'as for example': LSJ v.2.b. **ὁ ἵπποκένταυρος**: an alternative for κένταυρος. Lucian will have known the word from Plato, *Phaedrus* 229d, where Socrates groups hippocentaurs with the Chimaera and other monstrous creatures and speaks of ἀτοπίαι τερατολόγων τινῶν φύσεων. **ὑβριστότατον**: a rare form (instead of ὑβριστικώτατον) found occasionally in Classical Attic: at Plato, *Laws* 808d the child is said to be ὑβριστότατον θηρίον. (There is no allusion to *hybridity* by Lucian here. The English word is not related to ὑβρις, but is from Lat. *hybrida*, 'mongrel'.) ὕβρις is characteristic in descriptions of violent and licentious Centaur behaviour: Sophocles calls them στρατὸν ἰθηρῶν ὑβριστῆν (*Trach.* 1095–6), Euripides τετρασκελὲς . . . ὕβρισμα (*Her. Fur.* 181). Here it refers by implication to the breaking of generic boundaries. **τάς παροιτίας καὶ σφαγὰς αὐτῶν**: the Centaurs and Lapiths fought drunkenly at the wedding feast of Pirithous and Hippodameia (*Il.* 1.262–73, *Od.* 21.295–304; Ovid, *Met.* 12.210–535). Their battle was depicted most notably on the Parthenon metopes. See Beard (2002) 18–19, *LIMC* viii 1.670–721, 2.416–81, and p. 110 on a picture by Zeuxis. **ἐμπάλιν** 'vice versa'. **ἐξ οἴνου καὶ μέλιτος τὸ ξυναμφότερον** 'mead', οἶνόμελι, *mulsum*. **ἡδιστον**: sc. ἔστι. **φημί ἔγωγε** 'yes', Lat. *aio*. **οὐ . . . ἔχω διατείνεισθαι** 'I cannot contend that . . .': LSJ διατείνω B.I.2.a. **συνέφθειρεν** 'has completely destroyed'; but ἡ μίξις suggests that there may be a reference also to the use of the verb for a combination of colours melting into each other (LSJ συμφθεῖρω II): the characteristics of each have been lost through combination with the other.

**6** On the apparent incompatibility of dialogue and comedy, the one private, grave and serious, the other public and humorous. Comedy is described as *consorting* with her patron god Dionysus: there are sexual overtones in παραδοῦσα . . . ἑαυτήν, ὠμίλει, ξυνέπαιζεν, and possibly ἐν ῥυθμῶι, ἀναπαίστοις (for παῖω used of sexual intercourse cf. Ar. *Peace* 874) and ἐποχουμένη (cf. *Fly* 6 ὁ ἄρρην οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλεκτρούνας ἐπιβάς εὐθὺς ἀπεπήδησεν, ἀλλ' ἐποχεῖται τῇ θηλείᾳ ἐπὶ πολὺ, 12 βαινόμεναι καὶ βαίνοντες ἐν τῷ μέρει). **οὐ πάννυ γοῦν συνήθη καὶ φίλα ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἦν ὁ διάλογος καὶ ἡ κωμωιδία** 'from the beginning dialogue and comedy have not been very compatible and friendly things'. εἴ γε 'since', Lat. *siquidem*. **ἐν τοῖς περιπάτοις** 'in covered walks', not in the public eye; but with a reference to the Peripatetic school of Aristotle, whose teacher Plato, the great exponent of philosophical dialogue, walked about while discoursing. **τάς διατριβάς ἐποιεῖτο** 'occupied himself', with an allusion to the technical meanings of διατριβή, 'discourse', 'lecture'. **ξυνέπαιζεν**: possibly an allusion to Ar. *Peace*

816–17, where the chorus close a long performance with the words Μοῦσα θεά, μετ' ἐμοῦ ξύμπαιζε τὴν ἑορτήν. **ἐγελωτοποιεῖ** 'acted like a buffoon'. The word is used by Plato in a discussion of comedy in the *Republic* (606c), and again by Lucian in a context similar to the present one at *Twice Accused* 33. **πρὸς** 'to the accompaniment of': LSJ c.iii.6. **αὐλόν**: a pipe sounded with a reed (like an oboe, and unlike a flute), normally played in pairs; it is specially relevant here because it accompanied comic choruses, as well as being played solo and figuring at various other dramatic and musical occasions. See further  *OCD* s.v. 'Music' (p. 1005). **ἀναπαίστοις μέτροις ἐποχουμένη** 'mounted on anapaests', metrical feet of two short followed by one long syllable, a marching rhythm used in both tragedy and comedy but associated particularly with the comic parabasis, which is referred to as 'the anapaests' by Aristophanes (e.g. *Ach.* 627 τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις ἐπιώμεν). **τὰ πολλά**: adverbial: LSJ πολὺς iii.1.a. **τοὺς τοῦ διαλόγου ἐταίρους ἐχλεύαζε**: the following lines allude to Aristophanes' *Clouds*, a play often exploited by Lucian (cf. on *Dream* 2, 7, *Fly* 2, 3). **φροντιστάς**: *Clouds* 266 φάνητ', ὃ δέσποιναι, τῷ φροντιστῇ μετέωροι. **μετεωρολέσχας** 'star-gazers'. The word is found at Plato, *Rep.* 489c. Although μετεωρολέσχης does not occur in *Clouds*, μετέωρος is used several times of airy-fairy philosophical speculations (266 quoted above, 228, 1284; cf. 360 μετεωροσοφιστῶν). In Plato's *Apology* Socrates states that his being thought τὰ . . . μετέωρα φροντιστής (18b) and as ἀεροβατῶν (19c) damaged his reputation in Athens. **προαίρεσιν** 'policy', 'aim in life'. **τὴν Διονυσιακὴν ἐλευθερίαν**: the freedom of speech (παρρησία) jealously upheld by fifth-century comic poets. **ἄρτι μὲν . . . ἄρτι δέ**: cf. *Fly* 5. **ἀεροβατοῦντας**: at *Clouds* 225 Socrates is displayed up aloft saying ἀεροβατῶ καὶ περιφρονῶ τὸν ἥλιον (cf. 1503). **νεφέλαις ξυνόντας**: *Clouds* 252 καὶ συγγενέσθαι ταῖς Νεφέλαισιν εἰς λόγους, ἢ ταῖς ἡμέτεραισι δαίμοσιν; **ψυλλῶν πηδήματα διαμετροῦντας**: at *Clouds* 144–52 a disciple proudly tells Strepsiades that Socrates measured how many flea-feet a flea could jump by making for it little waxen slippers. **τὰ ἀέρια λεπτολογουμένους**: λεπτός, '<over->subtle', and its compounds are used to characterise Socrates in *Clouds*. Strepsiades, filled with Socratic fervour, exclaims ἡ ψυχὴ μου πεπόνηται ἢ καὶ λεπτολογεῖν ἤδη ζητεῖ (319–20); at the end of the disciple's flea-narrative he cries ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τῆς λεπτότητος τῶν φρενῶν (153); Socrates says he suspends himself aloft so as to mingle his subtle thoughts with thin air (229–30 κρεμάσας . . . τὴν φροντίδα, ἢ λεπτὴν καταμειξας εἰς τὸν ὁμοῖον ἀέρα); and he is called λεπτοτάτων λήρων ἱερεῦ (359). **σεμνοτάτας** 'very serious', with overtones of haughty pomposity. **συνουσίας** 'teaching'; but there is a continuation of the sexual imagery obvious in the description of comedy: see LSJ i.3, 4. **φύσεώς τε πέρι καὶ ἀρετῆς φιλοσοφῶν** 'philosophising about nature and virtue'; in popular idiom the verb denotes a highbrow activity. For the position of πέρι + gen. after its noun see LSJ D. When disyllabic prepositions follow their noun their accent moves to the first syllable. **τὸ τῶν μουσικῶν τοῦτο** 'in musical terms', 'as musicians would say'. For this use of the definite article with the genitive see LSJ ὁ, ἡ, τό B.II.2.

δὶς διὰ πασῶν εἶναι τὴν ἁρμονίαν 'there are two octaves between them', literally 'their harmony is twice an octave'. διὰ πασῶν (sc. χορδῶν συμφωνία) is an octave. It is sometimes written as a single word (Eng. *diapason*). The phrase is used at Plato, *Rep.* 432a, and was still a standard term in Lucian's time. Cf. *Book-collector* 21. τὰ οὕτως ἔχοντα πρὸς ἄλληλα 'although they stand in this relationship'.

7 τὸ θῆλυ τῷ ἄρρενι ἐγκαταμίξας: men's punishment for the theft of fire by Prometheus was to have baneful woman introduced among them (Hes. *Theog.* 561–616; cf. 2 ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ n.). The literary equivalent is Lucian's wedding feminine comedy to manly dialogue. δίκην ὑπόσχω 'I must pay the penalty' like Prometheus. For the alternation of indicative and subjunctive cf. on 5 ᾗ . . . θαυμάζουσι. μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ < > ἑξαπατῶν: some words are lost here; presumably they were similar in sense to ὁμοίον τι τῷ Προμηθεΐ τῷ σῶι πεποικώς φαίνωμαι in the preceding sentence. ὅσ' ἅ παραθεῖς αὐτοῖς κεκαλυμμένα τῇ πιμέλει: Hes. *Theog.* 540 ἰδού τε λευκά βοὸς . . . ἰ . . . κατέθηκε, καλύψας ἀργέτι δημῷ ('covering them with shining fat'). Prometheus tried to help mortals by keeping back for them the best parts of a sacrifice. He allowed Zeus to choose between a juicy-looking portion wrapped in fat, which contained the inedible parts, and a portion wrapped in unappetising-looking hide, which held the meat. Zeus was not fooled, and punished mankind by withholding fire (Hes. *Theog.* 535–64). Lucian ironically suggests that his audience may be disappointed when the serious-looking dialogue form turns out not to contain any meaty philosophy; though in fact they are more likely to approach his work in hopes of entertainment. τὸ . . . τῆς κλεπτικῆς 'as for the charge of larceny'. For the expression see 6 τὸ τῶν μουσικῶν τοῦτο n. καὶ γὰρ κλεπτικῆς ὁ θεός 'for he is the god of theft' on account of his stealing fire for mortals (Hes. *WD* 51 ἔκλεψ', 55 κλέψας, *Theog.* 566). But the emendation κλέπτῃς, 'a thief', is attractive, since it was not Prometheus but Hermes who was patron of thieves. τοῦ = τίνος. εἰ μὴ ἄρα: see 2 μὴ ἄρα n. ἵπποκάμπους 'hippocamps', fabulous beasts, horse in front and fish behind, the mounts of sea gods in art (cf. Pliny, *NH* 36.26 on a famous sculpture by Scopas). τραγελάφους 'goat-deer', another fantastic creature, mentioned as a creation of artists by Plato, *Rep.* 488a and linked with ἵππολεκτρύονας at Ar. *Frogs* 932, 937 as images of monstrous literary confectations. πλὴν ἀλλά 'however': LSJ πλήν B.III.2. τί ἂν πάθοιμι; 'what else can I do?', a variant on the common Attic phrase τί γὰρ πάθω;: cf. *Timon* 39 τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ πάθοι τις; LSJ πάσχω III.3, Sandbach on Men. *Phasma* 8 [= 39 Arnott]. οἷς = ἐκείνοις ἄ. ἅπασι: he must abide by his decision *once* it has been made. Ἐπιμηθέως ἔργον: Epimetheus, 'Afterthought', the foolish brother of Prometheus, committed the fatal error of accepting into his house Pandora, the first woman, whom Zeus caused to be made so that he could punish mankind for receiving the stolen fire from Prometheus (Hes. *WD* 59–105, *Theog.* 511–14, 570–616). Epimetheus repents at leisure and is 'wise after the event' (cf. 2 Κλέων . . . n.).

### III THE IGNORANT BOOK-COLLECTOR

In *The Dream* Culture is contrasted favourably with Sculpture, a manual trade. In *The Ignorant Book-collector* the contrast is between real and sham culture. The work is a satirical diatribe against an uneducated man who buys books; the speaker finds this behaviour offensive, and suggests discreditable motives for the Collector's indiscriminate bibliophily. His indignant anger shows itself in a lack of logical structure to the argument; though he does suspensefully hint twice at the Collector's sexual peccadilloes before describing them at length near the end (3, 16–17 n., 23–7). The main contrast is between form and content, in books and in life; the Collector is shown to be obsessed with the appearance of his de luxe editions but uninterested in their contents, and to live an immoral life in private under a cover of public respectability. Concern with this contrast is typical both of Lucian's writing and of Cynic philosophy, which consistently champion the true, the sincere and the genuine over pretension, superficiality, hypocrisy and falsehood. Charges of sexual perversion and prodigality are commonplace in law-court oratory as well as in satire (cf. 27 Αἰσχίνου n.). The work is punctuated by illustrative stories familiar from the schools of rhetoric which place the Collector in company with notable fools from the past. These anecdotes, and the speaker's copious use of proverbial sayings, contribute to the effect of spontaneous indignation and to a tone in some respects reminiscent of Juvenal's denunciatory satires.

Neither the speaker nor his victim is named, but both are from Lucian's native Syria (3, 4, 19). The Collector had no proper schooling, while the speaker attained both education and culture; these he now uses to embarrass and discomfit the Collector, challenging him to recognise quotations and authors familiar to a cultured audience (7, 18–19, 27–8). Through the typical satiric devices of mockery, belittlement, slander and ridicule he depicts his victim as an ignorant social climber, a near-bankrupt spendthrift, and a shamelessly hypocritical pervert. Lack of education is equated with lack of morals, illiteracy with inarticulacy and effeminacy (4–5). The speaker aims, through his own composition, to open up his victim to view, to reveal the true contents of his life beneath the respectable exterior; he can read him like a book, and he now publishes abroad his infamous behaviour.

But it would not be difficult to see the object of this poisonous tirade as a more sympathetic character, a man who has come late into money and tries his best to make up for his lack of taste and culture. Such a reading requires closer scrutiny of the speaker and his motives. A Byzantine commentator felt that his anger stemmed from the Collector's having refused him loan of a book (30 ἄλλω . . . δεσθῆντι χρήσειας ἂν τὰ βιβλία: Rabe (1906) 151.1–2; cf. 154.10–14). A hypocritical bibliomaniac malice resulting from envy at a less learned man's superb library is at least suggested, and would suit well the tone of ironical self-depreciation with which many of Lucian's works conclude (cf. pp. 96–7).

*The book trade*

In Petronius' *Satyricon* the blithely ignorant *nouveau riche* Trimalchio boasts *duas bybliothecas habeo, unam Graecam, alteram Latinam* (48.4), and in *De tranquillitate animi* Seneca criticises those who buy books purely for show (9.4–7). Large personal libraries staffed by slave curators were the preserve of the very rich, but every educated man would hope to have a decent collection of books with a scribe trained to copy out rolls lent by friends, or even, in the case of living writers, by authors themselves. Networks of loan, patronage and personal acquaintance meant that the commercial trade in books was probably not much used by the cultured elite; and the fact that in Lucian's title the Collector is called a buyer (ὠνούμενον) is perhaps already a condemnation. Booksellers did exist, and produced to order copies of texts which they could borrow or had in stock. In major cities auction sales and imports from abroad might put new texts into circulation.

Then as now, books were collected for various reasons. There were sumptuous *de luxe* book-rolls with generous margins, calligraphic hands, polished ends, decorated rollers and handsome slip-cases; these made reading more pleasurable and looked good in the book-bins of wealthy libraries (7 πορφυρᾶν . . . , ὀμφαλόν nn.). The Collector loves these superficial attractions. But just as a respectable-looking citizen may lead a secret life of vice, so an attractively presented book may contain a corrupted text, and those who wished to make detailed study of a literary or philosophical work sought out a reliable edition free from careless scribal errors, preferably one which after copying had been carefully checked against the exemplar or another text (§1 fin.; Str. 13.1.54–5, Cic. *Ad Att.* 13.44.3 (336 Sh. B.), Pliny, *Epist.* 4.26.1; cf. §1 Ἀττικὸς n.). The book most likely to be accurate would be the author's own copy. Autograph manuscripts were consequently much prized, and there was a thriving trade in fakes (Dio 21.12; cf. §3). The Collector is said to be so helpless that he cannot distinguish the good text from the bad, the old from the new, or the valuable from the worthless (1–2).

*Bibliography*

Text: Macleod (OCT) II 121–34. Commentary: Pierro (1994). Translation: Harmon III 173–211. Reading, books, and conspicuous consumption: *OCD* 249–52, *CHCL* I 1–41, II 3–32, Edwards (1993) 63–97, Holford-Strevens (2003) 138–41, Johnson (2000), esp. 613–15, (2004), esp. 158–60, Kleberg (1973), Knox (1968), McDonnell (1996), Speyer (1971), Starr (1987), (1990).

1 καὶ μήν 'and yet' (*GP* 357): it is as if we suddenly begin to overhear the denunciation. οὗ: gen. governed by ἐναντίον, attracted from the acc. ὃ ἐθέλεις. τις 'a somebody' (LSJ A.11.5): he hopes to gain repute as a man of culture. τὸ δέ . . . τοῦτο: the attempt just described. περὶ τὰ κάτω χωρεῖ 'is a failure': LSJ κάτω II.c. The expression seems not to occur elsewhere. ἔλεγχος 'proof'.

μάλιστα 'in the first place', 'most importantly'. οὐδὲ τὰ κάλλιστα ὦνῃ: he is a poor judge even of the outward appearance, let alone of the contents. πιστεύεις τοῖς ὡς ἔτυχεν ἐπαινοῦσι 'you put your trust in those who praise something, whatever it may be' (LSJ τυγχάνω A.1.3): you are at the mercy of salesmen. ἔρμαιον: *Dream* gn. τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιψευδομένων τοῖς βιβλίοις 'those who make false claims of this sort about books'. τίνας: τίς is commonly used for ὅστις in indirect questions in later Greek: LSJ B.11.a. ἄλλως σαπρὰ 'decayed for some other reason', not through age. εἰ μὴ . . . τεκμαίροιο 'if you are not to judge by their being . . .', i.e. 'from the extent to which they are . . .'. συμβούλους 'as advisers'. This word, together with ἐξέτασιν, 'scrutiny', and παραλαμβάνοις, 'call as witnesses' (LSJ II.1), is a semi-technical term which contrasts amusingly with the mundane nature of the witnesses themselves: his judgment is based only on worm-holes! σῆς is usually a clothes-moth, but here it means the book-louse or book-worm (Lat. *tinea*). Cedar oil and cedar-wood boxes were used to repel their attacks (§16, Horace, *Ars poetica* 332, Pliny, *NH* 13.86). See Beavis (1988) 136–40. τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς ἢ ἀσφαλοῦς ἐν αὐτοῖς 'their accuracy and reliability'; ἀσφαλῆς = without errors (σφάλματα). τίς ἢ ποῖα διάγνωσις 'whatever means of deciding do you have?'

2 ἴνα δέ σοι δῶ αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα κεκριέναι 'even if I grant that you have selected those very volumes . . .'. ἴνα δῶ/δῶμεν is a phrase used to introduce a concession made for the sake of the argument: LSJ ἴνα B.3.a, δίδωμι III.2. ὁ Καλλίνος . . . ὁ Ἀοίδιμος Ἀττικὸς: these two are called βιβλιογράφοι in §24. Callinus, who is not recorded elsewhere, seems to be renowned for his calligraphic skills, Atticus for his care in accurate copying, though the words εἰς κάλλος and Ἀοίδιμος are used to provide assonance with the names. Ἀοίδιμος is 'celebrated' in a general sense (cf. *Timon* 38 περίβλεπτός τε καὶ Ἀοίδιμος δι' ἐμὲ ἦσθα), but its common application to the city of Athens (LSJ I) may have suggested its use for Atticus here. In any case, it is tempting to identify him with T. Pomponius Atticus, friend and correspondent of Cicero and an avid book-collector, who saw to the copying and circulation of Cicero's works. The words βιβλιογράφος in §24 and γράφαιεν would then be satirically dismissive descriptions of Atticus, who would have taken care to have the best copies made but would not have written them himself. Some sources for the text of Demosthenes refer to Ἀττικιανὰ as being editions of a high degree of accuracy. These may have been thought to derive from copies in the library of the famous Atticus. On Atticus in general see Nepos' *Life and Shackleton Bailey* (1965) 3–59; on the Ἀττικιανὰ Pasquali (1952) 266–7, 278–81. ὦ θαυμάσιε: this form of address is often scornful in Plato: Dickey (1996) 141, 280. σοί: emphatically positioned: 'what's the use of *your* having them?' εἰδοῖν τὸ κάλλος . . . χρησομένωι: he will be aware of neither their elegance nor the quality of their text. οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ 'any more than . . .'. παιδικῶν: *Timon* 22 ἐκ παιδικῶν n. πάννυ ἐπιτρέχων 'pretty fluently', letting the eyes 'run over' the words. φθάνοντος τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ τὸ στόμα 'with your

eyes keeping ahead of your mouth'. Reading aloud was the norm in the ancient world. Knox (1968) 424-7 shows that the expression does not imply that he reads imperfectly or too quickly; it is not his ability to read that is at fault, but his understanding. ὁ νοῦς 'the sense', 'the meaning': LSJ νόος III. ἡ τάξις τῶν ὀνομάτων 'the correct order of the words' (LSJ ὄνομα VI.1), the order in which they are to be construed. πρὸς τὸν ὀρθὸν κανόνα 'in accordance with correct <grammatical> rules' or usage. ἀπηκριβώται 'has been perfectly executed', 'composed to exacting standards'. The verb is found several times in Plato; e.g. *Tim.* 29c λόγους . . . ἀπηκριβωμένους ἀποδοῦναι, where the reference is to argument rather than style. κίβδηλα καὶ νόθα καὶ παρακεκομμένα 'fraudulent, base and counterfeit'. Just as the ignorant and unwary are taken in by forged coins, so the indiscriminating Collector cannot tell good from bad writing.

3 The Collector is imagined as objecting that he is not uncultured. The speaker replies that, since he had no formal education, he must in that case have received inspiration from the Muses like Hesiod (referred to allusively as 'that shepherd'). But that is unlikely in view of his dubious morals, which bring to mind a different type of divinity. φῆις . . . εἰδέναι 'do you claim to know <what we know> even though you have not learnt the same things as we did?' (ἡμῖν dative with ταῦτά = τὰ αὐτά: LSJ αὐτός III.1). κλῶνα δάφνης . . . Ἐλικῶνα: at the beginning of the *Theogony* Hesiod says that while shepherding his flocks on Mt Helicon in Boeotia he met the Muses, who gave him a staff of laurel (30 σκῆπτρον . . . δάφνης ἐριθηλέος ὄζον) as token of his investiture as a poet: see p. 93. ἵνα 'where' (LSJ A.1.2.a), a meaning common in epic hexameters but very rare in Lucian and later Greek prose. οἶμαι: parenthetic. διατρίβειν . . . διατριβάς: the Collector cannot have heard of the place where the Muses *spend their time* because he has not spent in *study* the same time as the speaker. The Muses are described in the opening lines of the *Theogony* as occupied in dancing on Mt Helicon (1-21). ἐν παισὶν 'as a child' (LSJ II). καὶ 'even'. ἀνόσιον: sc. ἐστὶ. ἐκείναι . . . πότιμα: a long, indignant sentence containing a parenthesis which creates suspense by hinting at salacious details yet to be revealed. οὐκ ἂν ὥκησαν φανῆναι: if you had been like Hesiod, they would have blessed you with their presence; i.e., it is possible for an uncultivated person to become cultured, but not for one such as you. The Muses' opening words when they address Hesiod are ποιμένες ἀγραυλοῖ, and Lucian's tough, hairy, sunburnt tyro seems to be an elaboration of this phrase. πολὺν τὸν ἥλιον 'the sun in great measure', 'a rich tan' (Harmon). οἶω δὲ σοὶ 'but as for you -'. The opposite qualities are left unspoken, as if unspeakable. They would be softness, depilated smoothness and delicate fair skin, all signs of effeminacy. πρὸς τῆς Λιβανίτιδος: probably a reference to the cult of Aphrodite (or a goddess similar to her) at Aphaca on Mt Lebanon. The sexual orgies and sacred prostitution which reputedly took place there make it suitable to be evoked in connexion with the Syrian Collector's

private life. See further Lightfoot (2003) 328-31 on *On the Syrian Goddess* 9, where the temple is briefly mentioned but without reference to disreputable rituals. μοι . . . ἄφες . . . τὸ μὴ . . . εἰπεῖν 'excuse me if I don't mention': ἀφήμι is used in legal terminology for remission of a charge (LSJ A.II.2.c). ἐν τῷ παρόντι 'at present' (LSJ II). εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι: parenthetic. μυρρίνην ἂν ἦ καὶ μαλάχης φύλλοις μαστιγοῦσαι ἀπήλλαξαν ἂν: they would have treated him like a scapegoat (φαρμακός), a person, often deformed or criminal, who was expelled from his community with blows and execrations and took with him the ritual pollution of all (ὥστε μὴ μᾶναι): Burkert (1985) 82-4, Bremmer (1983), Parker (1983) 257-70. At *True Histories* 2.26 μαλάχη (lavatera) is used in a scapegoat ritual. The reference to μυρρίνη (myrtle) is unexplained; the conjecture μυρική (tamarisk) would at least yield a plant suitable for rods. τῶν τοιούτων 'from such places', antecedent of ἅπερ. ὥς = ὥστε. τὸν Ὀλμειὸν . . . τῆν τοῦ Ἰππου κρήνην: at *Theog.* 6 the Muses are described as bathing ἢ Ἰππου κρήνης ἢ Ὀλμειοῦ ζαθέοιο. Hippocrene, a spring on the slopes of Mt Helicon in Boeotia, was believed to have been created by a blow from the hoof of Pegasus (Aratus 216-24); the Olmuis was a nearby stream (Str. 9.2.30). The Collector's very presence would defile the fountainhead of culture. στόμασιν καθαροῖς alludes to the literary cliché of the pure springs of the Muses (e.g. Call. *Hymn to Apollo* 105-12) and also to the fact that the Collector's mouth is *impure* on account of his disgusting sexual practices (23, 27).

4 ἀνδρεῖος τὰ τοιαῦτα 'of manly courage in such matters'; ironical, since, as implied above, he is manly in no other respect. ἐμέλησέ σοι: impersonal. τῆς ἐν χρώϊ . . . συνουσίας 'intimate familiarity', literally 'close to the skin': LSJ χρώς I.2. ὁ δεῖνα 'So-and-so' (sc. ἦν). τῷ δεῖνι συνεφοίταις 'you went to school with So-and-so': cf. *Dream* 1 φοιτῶν n. He would not dare make the claim because it would be easy to refute. ἀλλ' ἐνὶ τούτῳ μόνω . . . βιβλία 'you hope that all those deficiencies will be compensated by this one thing, your owning many books': LSJ ἀνατρέχω I.2. κατὰ δὴ ταῦτα 'in accordance with this', 'on that reasoning'. τῇ χειρὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ: autograph manuscripts of Demosthenes are not mentioned elsewhere. On the market in autographs see p. 120. καὶ . . . εὐρέθη 'and those works of Thucydides which were found to have been similarly (καὶ αὐτά) copied out by Demosthenes, eight times in all'. The details of this discovery are quite obscure. Although it is not the obvious way to understand the Greek, ὀκτάκις may perhaps refer to the eight books of Thucydides' *Histories* rather than to eight copies of the whole work. The reference would then be to Demosthenes' own copy of Thucydides, made by himself with loving care. ὅλως 'in a word', 'in short' (LSJ III.2), making the point that the final example is even more extravagant. ὅσα δὲ Σύλλας . . . ἐξέπεμψε: in 86 BC, at the beginning of the Mithridatic War, the Roman general Sulla plundered Athens and took for himself the library of Apellicon, which is said by Strabo to have contained little-known works by Aristotle and

Theophrastus (13.1.54; cf. Plut. *Sulla* 26.3). The contrast between his violent action and its cultured object gave rise to the proverb τί γὰρ [κοινὸν] Σύλλαι καὶ φιλοσόφους; (Suda τ556 Adler); cf. §5 τί κυνὶ καὶ βαλανείῳ; τί . . . πλέων; 'what advantage?': LSJ πλείων A.II.1. ὑποβαλόμενος . . . ἐπικαθεύδης: in similar hopes of osmotic inspiration Alexander kept the *Iliad* under his pillow (Plut. *Alex.* 8.2). συγκολλήσας . . . περυσσῆς: κολλήματα are the sheets of papyrus which were glued together to make a roll. He is grotesquely imagined as trying to *bind* himself, as it were, into culture by going round wrapped in cultured writings. πίθηκος γὰρ ὁ πίθηκος . . . κἂν χρύσεα ἔχη σύμβολα 'a monkey is a monkey, even if it has tokens of gold'. Unwanted children were abandoned with tokens which might help identify them in later life; golden tokens indicated high birth. An alternative version of the proverb has σάνδαλα for σύμβολα (CPG II 202), which would make a point similar to that of the anecdote in §6; but there is no such variant in the manuscripts here. At *Fisher* 36 Lucian tells of some monkeys which were trained to imitate human dance-figures and to wear clothes, only to revert to their simian nature when a spectator threw them nuts. ὄνος λύρας ἀκούεις κινῶν τὰ ὦτα: ὄνος λύρας is a proverbial expression commonly used to characterise those who are ἀπαίδευτοι and ἀναίσθητοι (CPG I 291 2). Here the donkey is pictured as moving its ears as if in appreciation, though in fact it has no understanding; 'the lights are on, but no one's at home'. ὥς 'for'. ὥς and ὥστε are often used causally by Lucian to introduce independent sentences: cf. *Lit. Prom.* 4, *Timon* 2, 6, 34, 38, 45. καὶ πεπαιδευμένον 'cultured, too'. πολλοῦ: with ἄξιον (gen. of value). μόνων ὕμῶν: sc. ἂν ᾦν: only the rich would have culture. εἰ . . . ᾦν πρίασθαι 'if it were possible to buy' (ᾦν from impersonal ἔστι: LSJ A.VI.a). τοὺς πένητας ἡμᾶς ὑπερβάλλοντας 'outbidding us poor folk'; the participle agrees with ὕμῶς implied in the previous clause. For the sense of ὑπερβάλλω see LSJ A.II.4. τίς . . . ἦρισεν ἂν 'who could have rivalled . . . ?' διελέγχειν 'look into the matter': LSJ III. τὰ εἰς παιδείαν 'in terms of culture' (τὰ acc. of respect). βαρβάρους . . . τὴν φωνὴν ὥσπερ σύ: cf. 19 Σύρον ὄντα n. οἷους εἰκὸς εἶναι τοὺς μηδὲν . . . καθεωρακότες 'just as is to be expected of those who have no perception of . . .': LSJ καθορᾶν II.3. δύο ἢ τρία: contemptuous understatement. οἱ δὲ . . . αὐτά: if they derive no intellectual benefit from their constant handling of books, what hope is there for you?

5 τίνος . . . ἀγαθοῦ 'for what good' (gen. of price), i.e. 'what good does it do you to . . .'. τὰς ἀποθήκας . . . τῶν βιβλίων: the shelves which make up his library (βιβλιοθήκη). καὶ μοι, εἰ δοκεῖ, ἀπόκριναι: here begins a version of the Socratic elenchus or cross-examination (cf. ἔλεγχος γὰρ, οἶμαι, σαφὲς οὗτος ad fin.). The Platonic Socrates characteristically argues from concrete examples. Here the Collector is forced to agree that mere ownership of a flute, a bow, a horse or a ship, be they never so fine, does not entail competence in their use, and it must follow that a man is not cultured simply because he owns a library. ἐπεὶ τοῦτό σοι ἀδύνατον, ἐπίνευσον γοῦν ἢ ἀνάνευσον: in a memorable passage

from Book I of Plato's *Republic*, the bullying Thrasymachus is embarrassed by Socrates' logic and threatens petulantly to withdraw from the dialogue and only to nod indulgently as one might during an old woman's narrative (350e). When he does in fact speak, Socrates exclaims πάνυ ἄγαμαι . . . ὅτι οὐκ ἐπίνευεις μόνον καὶ ἀνάνευεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποκρίνη πάνυ καλῶς (351c). The allusion equates the Collector's defeat with that of Thrasymachus. ἀνάνευεις, 'say "no"', involves throwing the head back. The words ἐπεὶ τοῦτό σοι ἀδύνατον probably draw attention to the slow-wittedness of the Collector. Τιμοθέου: a noted Theban *aulos*-player admired by Alexander the Great (Suda τ620). In Lucian's *Harmonides* he gives advice on how to become famous (1). Ἰσμηνίου: Ismenias, another noted Theban piper (Plut. *Pericles* 1.6, *Demetrius* 1.2, Max. Tyr. 9.1). The story of his expensive *auloi* is found only here. οὐκ ἐπιστάμενῳ: specific negative οὐ, 'since he was ignorant . . .'; contrast μὴ ἐπιστάμενος above, where μὴ conveys conditional force. εὖ γε ἀνένευσας 'you were quite right to shake your head'. Μαρσίου . . . Ὀλύμπου: mythical Phrygian inventors of the *aulos* (Plato, *Minos* 318b, *Laws* 677d). Marsyas was flayed alive for daring to compete with Apollo (Ovid, *Met.* 6.382-400). Olympus was his beloved pupil. Φιλοκτήτης: Philoctetes was given the bow of Heracles in return for lighting the pyre on which the hero wished to end his agonies by being burnt alive (Soph. *Phil.* 801 3, Ovid, *Met.* 9.229 65). ὥς . . . δύνασθαι 'so as to be able', in the expectation that he would be able. ἐπίσκοπα: adverbial, 'with a good aim'. ἂν ἐπιδείξασθαι 'would he perform' (sc. σοι δοκεῖ). οὐκ εἰδὼς . . . μὴ μεμελετηκώς: here οὐκ and μὴ seem to be used indifferently. ἵππευειν: ὅ is to be understood before this word, as the next part of the sentence shows (ὁ μὲν . . . ὁ δέ . . .). παραλάβοι 'were to take control of': LSJ II.1. τοῖς πᾶσι 'in every respect'. ἵππων . . . Μηδον: Persian horses, and in particular those from the Nisaeian plain, were much sought after. They were used by the kings of Persia and by the Parthian cavalry (Hdt. 7.40.3, Str. 11.13.7). κενταυρίδην: this term occurs only here. The Centaurs, half-man and half-horse, were associated particularly with Thrace, and Thracian thoroughbreds were considered the best in Greece (Hdt. 7.196; cf. Hom. *Il.* 10.544 63). κοππαφόρον: elsewhere called κοππατίας. In *Clouds* Strepsiades laments the exorbitant cost of horses of this type, which were branded with the old letter κόππα (ϙ) as proof of their pedigree. The ancient commentary on *Clouds* 23 implies that horses with this mark were still on sale in later antiquity. ἐλέγχοιτο ἂν 'would stand convicted of . . .', 'would give clear proof that . . .'. ὅ τι χρῆσαιτο ἐκατέρω 'what he should do with each of these things', 'how to use what he had'. τι is the internal object, as commonly with χρῶμαι: LSJ χρᾶω C.III.4.a, b. ἐκφέρει 'bring about': LSJ II.2. τῶν ὁρώντων: onlookers at the imagined dialogue. ἔλεγχος: see n. on καὶ μοι, εἰ δοκεῖ, ἀπόκριναι above. προχειρότατον 'very ready to hand', a proverb that comes immediately to mind in a case such as this. τί κυνὶ καὶ βαλανείῳ; 'what has a dog to do with a bath?' Dogs do not wash, and are out of place at the baths, just as books are wasted on the ignorant. Lucian alludes to this proverbial saying again at *Parasite* 51 ἐν συμποσίῳ φιλόσοφος τοιοῦτόν



ἔστιν οἷον ἐν βαλανείῳ κύων (for which cf. 4 ὅσα ὁ Σύλλας . . . ἐξέπεμψε n.). The words are one syllable short of the paroemiac rhythm  $\cup < > \cup\cup - \cup\cup -$  (*Dream* 3 Ἀρχὴ δέ τοι ἥμισυ παντός n.): one could supply γάρ, δὴ or τοι after τι, or perhaps read τί<η>.

**6** The pretentious amputee who foolishly drew attention to his disability. οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ 'not long ago': LSJ πολὺς iv.7. ἀπὸ κρύους . . . ἀποσαπέν-τας 'from frost-bite' (ἀποσάπω = 'rot off'). συνέβη 'by chance', literally 'it happened', + infin.: LSJ π.1.1.b. πεποίητο 'he got made'. κρηπίδας: leather soles attached to the feet by straps round the ankle and calf. Normally they were hobnailed and worn by soldiers and travellers, but there was a more fashionable design which could seem effeminate (*Tips for orators* 15). It is perhaps more likely, therefore, that the rich man is being mocked for his misapplied use of wealth than for wishing to appear able to walk long distances. νεοτμήτους ἄει: he liked to have a fresh pair with leather newly cut by the shoemaker (σκυτοτόμος). The strapwork of κρηπίδες was sometimes elaborate (*Tips for orators* 15 πολυσχιδής), as can be seen from surviving statues: Morrow (1985) e.g. 145–6. σικίνη: fig-wood was proverbially weak (*CPG* II 210 11). The Collector has a 'wooden' and defective intelligence, to which his buying books only draws attention. καὶ ἀρτίπους 'even if sound of foot'. Even a person of sound intelligence could scarcely cope with so many books.

**7** Just as the ugly and deformed Thersites would have looked ridiculous in the armour of Achilles, your inept reading shows that you are unfit to own fine books. Here Lucian has adapted a common theme from the schools of rhetoric, where the contest between Odysseus and Ajax over the arms of Achilles was a popular subject for students practising their adversarial skills and for teachers to display set-piece declamations. Ajax on such occasions would often be made to argue that Odysseus was unworthy of the arms and that he would only buckle under their weight (Antisthenes, *Ajax* 3, Ovid, *Met.* 13.101–22; cf. on μηδὲ φέρειν . . . below); Lucian has transferred this argument to the ugly upstart Thersites, who is ruthlessly chastised by Odysseus when he suggests retreat from Troy (*Il.* 2.211 77). ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ . . . πολλάκις 'and since also among the other books you have often particularly bought Homer'. ἀναγνώτω σοὶ τις: it is not implied that he cannot read himself (cf. 2 φθάνοντος . . . n.). A rich man would naturally have slaves to read to him (ἀναγνώσται, *lectores*). τὴν δευτέραν . . . ῥαψωδίαν: it was probably Alexandrian scholars of the third century BC who first divided the Homeric poems into 24 books: Richardson (1993) 20 1. μὴ ἐξετάζειν: infinitive for imperative (*GMT* §784). οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν πρὸς σέ 'they contain nothing applicable to you'. Only the basest character is relevant. πεποίηται . . . αὐτῷ 'he has described' (LSJ A.1.4.c) in his capacity as ποιητής. αὐτῷ is dative of the agent. δημηγορῶν: contemptuous. In Book 2 of the *Iliad* Thersites is called ἀμετροεπής (212), ἀκριτόμυθος (246) and λωβητῆρας . . .

ἀγοράων (275); he speaks ἔπεα . . . ἄκοσμα (213), and he 'provokes' Agamemnon (224 νείκεε). παγγέλοιος: at *Il.* 2.215 Thersites is said to be always trying to raise a laugh (ὁ τι . . . γελοῖον), and after his chastisement he is laughed at in the assembly (270 ἡδὺ γέλασσαν). διάστροφος τὸ σῶμα καὶ λελωβημένος: Homer describes Thersites as bandy-legged, lame, hunchbacked, thin and pointy-headed (*Il.* 2.217 19); altogether he was αἰσχιστος (216). ὑπερπηδησεται . . . τὸν ποταμόν: at the beginning of book 21 of the *Iliad* Achilles leaps into (not over) the river Scamander (18 ἔσθορε δαίμονι ἴσος) and slaughters countless Trojans. ἐπιθολώσῃ αὐτοῦ τὸ ρεῖθρον 'would muddy his stream': *Il.* 21.218 (Scamander speaks) πλήθει γὰρ δὴ μοι νεκῶν ἐρατεινὰ ῥέεθρα, 21 ἐρυθαίνετο δ' αἵματι ὕδωρ. Λυκάονα . . . Ἀστεροπαῖον: during the Scamander episode the deaths of these two heroes are given special prominence (*Il.* 21.34–135, 139 99). μηδὲ φέρειν . . . τὴν μελίαν: Achilles' ash spear was so heavy that only he could throw it (*Il.* 16.140 4, 19.387 91); he uses it to kill Asteropaeus (21.169 72). Thersites would not be able even (μηδέ) to carry it. This and the following insults are commonplaces from rhetorical exercises on the topic of the contest for the arms of Achilles: cf. Ovid, *Met.* 13.107–16 (Ajax to Odysseus) 'You will not be able to bear the weight of the helmet; the spear is too heavy for you; . . . Why do you seek a prize which will only impede your running away?' οὐκ ἂν εἴποις 'you would agree that he could not'. γέλωτα ἂν ὀφλισκάνοι 'he would invite mockery'. χωλεύων: Thersites is χωλός (*Il.* 2.217). ὁπότε ἀνανεύσει 'whenever he looked up': LSJ π.1. τοὺς παραβλῶπας ἐκείνους αὐτοῦ ὀφθαλμούς 'those squinting eyes of his'. The Homeric Thersites is not said to have a squint. As the combination with lameness shows, Lucian has borrowed the phrase from *Il.* 9.503, where the personified Prayers (Λιταί) are said to be χωλαί τε ῥυσαί τε παραβλῶπές τ' ὀφθαλμῶ. ἐπαίρων 'raising up', i.e. making the shoulder-pieces stick out behind. τῷ τοῦ μεταφρένου κυρτώματι 'on his hunched back'. Thersites is described as having ὦμω | κυρτώ at *Il.* 2.217 18, and later Odysseus strikes him on the μετάφρενον (265). τὰς κνημίδας ἐπισυρόμενος: he would be too short and bandy-legged (φορκός, *Il.* 2.217) to be able to wear them properly. ἐκνημῖς is a standard epithet for the Greeks in the *Iliad*. ἀμφοτέρους is explained by the following appositional phrases. τὸν δημιουργὸν αὐτῶν: Hephaestus, who made the arms for Achilles (*Il.* 18.368 617). τὸ αὐτὸ . . . τὰ πολλά: a long and indignant question extends the analogy with Thersites. πορφυρᾶν . . . τὴν διφθέραν: the envelopes of parchment used to protect particularly valuable rolls could be dyed with costly purple. ὀμφαλόν: a decorative knob placed at each end of the stick round which the roll was wound. βαρβαρίζων: being an ill-educated Syrian (19) he is not able to pronounce the words properly. καταισχύνων καὶ διαστρέφων: echoing διάστροφος and αἰσχύνων in the description of Thersites above. He treats the text shamefully and perverts its meaning by reading it badly. This is scarcely in agreement with the admission in §2 that his reading skills are reasonable; but consistency in such matters is not to be expected in diatribe. οἱ καὶ αὐτοὶ '– though they



themselves . . . . πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπιστρεφόμενοι γελῶσι: a final allusion to the Iliadic Thersites. Delighted that he has at last got his just deserts (270 ἡδὺ γέλασσαν), the Greeks turn to each other (271 ὥδε δέ τις εἶπεσκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλησίον ἄλλον) and agree that Odysseus has never done a better thing. τὰ πολλά 'often', or perhaps 'for the most part'. He is so ridiculous that even his hangers-on have to laugh.

**8-10** The story of Evangelus, a rich man convinced by flatterers that he was a fine performer on the lyre. At the Pythian competition his superb clothes and valuable instrument only served to contrast with the poverty of his performance, and he was driven with blows from the stage. The prize went to Eumelus, a poor but talented man with a cheap lyre.

Prizes were offered for accompanied and unaccompanied lyre-playing. Evangelus is in the first of these groups (9 αἰσαι καὶ κιθαρίσαι . . . ἔδει). Such performers were called citharodes; those who did not sing were κιθαρισταί (Plato, *Gorgias* 501c-502a). Public performers such as musical soloists were noted for their glamorous outfits: Hdt. 1.24.4 5 (Arion), Plato, *Ion* 530b, 535d (quoted in 8 στέφανον . . . n. below).

In the schools of rhetoric anecdotes of this type were no doubt frequently used to illustrate ἀλαζονεία or imposture, and to contrast it with the life of true virtue. Xenophon's Socrates draws a similar comparison in the *Memorabilia* (1.7.2), and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, a handbook for orators perhaps dating from the first century BC, praises the anecdote for vividly illustrating the fact that lack of virtue incurs more derision in the well-born man than in the obscure (4.60). Neither of these authors gives names to the characters. Lucian, in adapting the story to the diatribe style, has sharpened his inherited material by supplying names and knockabout.

Evangelus and Eumelus are otherwise unknown, and very likely fictitious. (Eumelus was the name of a famous early epic poet from Corinth: *EGF* 95 103.) The Pythian Games continued to be held at Delphi until at least the fourth century AD. Among the victors in the competition for lyre-playing was the emperor Nero (*Nero* 2).

**8** τῶν οὐκ ἀφανῶν 'a man of considerable distinction' (partitive genitive). τῆς γυμνῆς ἀγωνίας 'the athletic competitions'. μήτε . . . πεφυκότε: causal. μή for οὐ is not unusual in indirect statements: *GMT* §§685, 688. καταράτων ἀνθρώπων: i.e. κολάκων, 'flatterers'. βοώντων: shouts of approval. ἀνακρούσαιτο 'struck an opening chord'. ἐσθῆτα χρυσοσπαστον . . . στέφανον δάφνης χρυσοῦς: in the *Ion* of Plato Socrates describes a rhapsode's elaborate get-up; he is κεκοσμημένος ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ καὶ χρυσοῖσι στεφάνοις (535d). ὥς = ὥστε. τὴν μὲν γε κιθάραν αὐτὴν: ποιησάμενος is to be understood from the previous sentence. εἰς 'as regards', 'in': LSJ IV.2. χρυσοῦ . . . πᾶσαν 'made entirely of gold'. σφραγῖσι 'gems': LSJ I.2, 3.

σφραγῖς is a signet-ring, and a cut gem was often used on such rings. μεταξὺ . . . ἐντετορευμένων 'carved in relief between them (sc. the gems)'.

**9** ποτε 'at length' (LSJ III.1.b); cf. ἐπειδὴ ποτε, 'when at last', below. τρεῖς μὲν ἦσαν: sc. οἱ ἀγωνιζόμενοι. Θέσπιν τὸν Θηβαῖον: the name and place have poetical associations, since a Thespis is said to have invented tragedy (Dioscorides, *AP* 7.410 11, Hor. *As* 275 7), and Thebes was a well-known place for solo musicians. ὑακίνθοις: a pale-blue precious stone, perhaps aquamarine: cf. Lightfoot on *On the Syrian goddess* 32. καὶ . . . δέ introduces the last item in the series: 'in particular' (*GP* 202). ἐνέπρεπε 'suited him'. σφοδρότερον τοῦ δέοντος 'harder than was necessary'. λεπτόν 'feeble'. μαστιγώσαντας αὐτόν: at *Fisher* 33 Lucian speaks of bad actors being whipped; these would of course be slaves. κάκεινης συμμαστιγουμένη αὐτῷ 'because it, too, had shared his flogging'. ὁ χρυσοῦς Εὐάγγελος 'that precious fool Evangelus'. χρυσοῦς is used for a simpleton (*A Slip in Greeting* 1, Men. *Dysc.* 675); here it is particularly apt because he is dressed in gold.

**10** μικρόν . . . ἐπισχών 'after a brief delay': LSJ ἐπέχω IV.2.a. κόλλοπα: *Sea Gods* 1.4 κολλάβοις n. ἐπικειμένην 'fitted with': LSJ III. μόγις 'scarcely'. κατὰ τὸν νόμον τῆς τέχνης 'according to the custom of his art', i.e. with professional skill, but with an allusion to the meaning *nome* or melody for the lyre (LSJ II.2). ἐμπομπεύσαντος 'for preening himself on . . .'. περίκεισαι 'wear': cf. ἐπικειμένην above. τὴν Δελφικὴν: the crown of victory made from Delphic laurel. πλήν 'however': LSJ V.III.2. τοῦτό γε μόνον ὦνησο τῆς σκευῆς, ὅτι . . . : ironical: 'the only advantage you have gained from your get-up is that . . .'. ὅτι μηδέ: *Dream* 9 οὐδὲν . . . n. ἄτεχνον 'unprofessional', in contrast with κατὰ τὸν νόμον τῆς τέχνης above.

**11-12** Orpheus' lyre was acquired by Neanthus, whose attempts to play it resulted in his death. This anecdote continues the moral of the Evangelus story, that talent cannot be bought and that there is no substitute for training and education. They are linked also by the theme of violence: Evangelus' scourging prefigures the dismemberment of Orpheus, whose lyre in turn causes its unlucky new owner to be torn to pieces by his 'audience'.

**11** περὶ πόδα δὴ σοι καὶ Εὐάγγελος οὗτος 'this Evangelus, too, is a perfect image of you'. The metaphor is originally from a well-fitting shoe: LSJ πούς I.6.c. παρ' ὅσον 'except for the fact that'. οὐδ' ὀλίγον μέλει: he is shameless as well as ignorant. δισπάσαντο: Orpheus was torn to pieces by Maenads or women of Thrace; most sources say this was because they were angry at his neglect of them and his continual lamenting for his dead wife Eurydice (Virg. *Geo.* 4.520-2, Ovid, *Met.* 11.7 19), but Aeschylus in the *Bassarids* seems to have said that Dionysus sent the Maenads against him because he worshipped Apollo exclusively

(*TrGF* p. 138-9 R.). τὸν Ἐβρον: a river in Thrace. τὸν μέλανα κόλπον: the Black Gulf on the west side of the Chersonese in the northern Aegean (Str. 1.2.20). ἐπιπλεῖν: the Hellenistic poet Phanocles says the lyre was attached to the head with a nail (fr. 1.13, *CA* p. 106-8), but here they are probably to be imagined floating side by side: cf. *On Dance* 51 τὴν λάλον αὐτῶν κεφαλὴν τὴν ἐπιπλεύσαν τῇ λύρῃ. μετ' ᾧδῆς 'with a musical accompaniment'. κάκείνους: the people of Lesbos. τὸ Βακχεῖον 'the temple of Dionysus', an appropriate place, since it was Dionysus' Maenads who tore Orpheus to pieces (see on διεσπᾶσαντο above). ἐπὶ πολὺ 'for a long time'.

12 χρόνῳ . . . ὕστερον 'some time later'. Νέανθον . . . τοῦ Πιττακοῦ: Pittacus was tyrant of Lesbos in the seventh/sixth century BC (Diog. Laer. 1.74-81). His son Neanthus is not mentioned elsewhere. This anecdote is discussed by Andrisano (2007). ἐκῆλει . . . θηρία καὶ φυτὰ καὶ λίθους: Orpheus' songs were so moving that even animals, plants and rocks were rapt: cf. Aesch. *Agam.* 1630, Eur. *Bacchae* 561-4, Ap. Rhod. 1.26-31, Ovid, *Met.* 10.86-105. πρὸς ἔρωτα . . . ἐμπεσεῖν 'fell in love with . . .'. εἰς is usually found with ἐμπίπτειν: LSJ 4.b. διαφθείραντα 'having bribed': LSJ 1.2. ὑποθέντα 'having substituted'; cf. ὑποβάλλομαι used of changelings. λαβόντα . . . οἶεσθαι: the narrative continues in indirect speech. οὐκ ἀσφαλές: because the lyre might be recognised. ὑπὸ κόλπου 'hidden under his cloak'. μόνον 'on his own'. προχειρισάμενον 'taking it in his hands'. ἀτεχνον καὶ ἀμουσον νεανίσκον 'unskilled and uninspired lad that he was'. ἐλπίζοντα μέλη . . . ὑπηχῆσιν τὴν λύραν 'expecting that the lyre would produce tunes'. ὕφ' ὧν πάντας καταθέλξειν: in indirect speech relative and temporal clauses sometimes take the infinitive by attraction to the wider accusative and infinitive construction (*GMT* §755); here translate '(as he thought)'. ἐσεσθαι: governed by ἐλπίζοντα. κληρονομήσαντα 'by becoming the heir of . . .'. ὥς = ὥστε. μόνους . . . τοὺς κύνας: Orpheus attracted θηρία καὶ φυτὰ καὶ λίθους (above), Neanthus only dogs. ὅτεπερ: conjunction: 'and then'. καὶ σαφέστατα ὥφθη 'it was seen quite clearly', 'it became clear', καὶ emphasises the adverb: LSJ B.4. μόνᾳ ἐξαιρετὰ 'the uniquely remarkable things'. παρὰ τῆς μητρός: his mother was a Muse, either Calliope or Polymnia (Ap. Rhod. 1.23-5 and schol.). ἄλλως 'merely': LSJ II.3.

13-15 Three further anecdotes to show that culture cannot be acquired by association: Epictetus' lamp, Proteus' staff and Aeschylus' writing-tablets did not improve those who bought them. There was a flourishing trade in such artefacts, as there was in autograph manuscripts; needless to say, they were bought out of piety or love of collecting rather than in hopes of direct intellectual improvement.

13 ὅπου 'when': LSJ II.1. καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς 'even in our time': LSJ κατὰ B.VII.2. Ἐπικτήτου . . . τοῦ Στωϊκοῦ: the Stoic philosopher Epictetus (mid

first-mid second cent. AD), who influenced among others the emperor Marcus Aurelius (*Meditations* 1.7.3). τὸν . . . λύχνον . . . κεραμεοῦν ὄντα: in a memorable passage of his discourse 'On not being angry with wrong-doers' (1.18.15 Schenkl), Epictetus tells how, when his metal lamp was stolen by a burglar, he philosophically resolved to buy a less valuable lamp made of earthenware. The lamp is therefore an emblem of Epictetus' Stoic belief that possessions are unimportant, and that one should strive instead to enrich the mind. This makes the high price paid by the Collector a sign that he is woefully ignorant of Epictetus' philosophy. τῶν νυκτῶν 'during the nights', 'each night'; or perhaps 'during the hours of night', since νύκτες can refer to a single night (Plato, *Prot.* 310c, 'Sappho', *PMG* 976.2-3). κάκείνος 'he, too', his delusion being akin to that of Neanthus. ὄναρ: adverbial: 'in his dreams' (LSJ II). ἐπικτήσεσθαι: word-play on the name Epictetus.

14 A more recent example of the same error: a man paid a talent for the staff of Proteus. The Cynic Peregrinus was nicknamed Proteus because he kept changing his philosophical allegiance. Lucian's *Peregrinus* is a highly unsympathetic biography of the man. Peregrinus had himself burned alive at Olympia in AD 165, and χθές καὶ πρόωην, 'just the other day', suggests that Lucian is writing not long afterwards. The staff, cloak and pouch are signs of the sturdily independent Cynic (cf. pp. 9-10). At *Peregrinus* 36 Lucian describes how Peregrinus lays these aside before ascending his pyre; the staff is there called τὸ Ἡράκλειον ἐκεῖνο ῥόπαλον to draw a parallel with Heracles' voluntary death by fire (cf. 5 Φιλοκτῆτης n.). κειμήλιον 'relic', 'treasure'. τοῦ Καλυδωνίου τὸ δέριμα 'the hide of the Calydonian boar'. The omission of a word for 'boar' is odd, and it ought perhaps to be supplied: <ὄος> τοῦ Καλ. Cobet, τοῦ <ὄος τοῦ> Καλ. E. W. Handley. The hide was displayed in a temple at Tegea in Arcadia (Paus. 8.47.2). The boar had caused great damage, and the conflict over its hide resulted in deaths of heroes (Apollo). *Bibl.* 1.8.2, Ovid, *Met.* 8.425-44). τὰ ὀστά τοῦ Γηρυόνου: Heracles' tenth Labour was to fetch the cattle of Geryon(es), a three-bodied giant usually said to have lived in the far west (cf. Hes. *Theog.* 287-94). No other extant source mentions that his bones were on display in Thebes. Perhaps they were said to have been dedicated there by Heracles in thanks for his safe return. Μεμφίται τῆς Ἰσίδος τοὺς πλοκάμους: the goddess Isis cut off a lock of her hair in mourning for Osiris. The city of Coptus was said to be so called in memory of this (Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 14, with Griffith's n.); no other source mentions Memphis as the site of the dedicated lock. Both cities are on the Nile, Coptus about 200 miles south of Memphis. καὶ αὐτὸν σέ 'even you yourself'. βδελυρία: shamelessly repulsive behaviour. ὑπερηκόντισεν 'he has outdone', literally 'outshot', an Aristophanic word (*Knights* 659, *Birds* 363, *Wealth* 666). βακτηρίας . . . δεόμενος 'he needs a staff all right on his head!' He needs some sense knocking into him. This was how Odysseus served the upstart Thersites (*Il.* 2.265-9; cf. §7 n.).

**15** Dionysius tyrant of Syracuse, mocked by Philoxenus for the ridiculous style of his tragedies, bought the writing-tablets that once belonged to Aeschylus, but he continued to write rubbish none the less. On Dionysius and Philoxenus see pp. 200-6; the commoner story is that Philoxenus was imprisoned for an affair with the tyrant's mistress rather than for poking fun at his style. Dionysius is said to have been keener on writing than on ruling, and to have died of over-indulgence at the celebrations when he finally won an Athenian dramatic competition (Diod. 15.74.1-4). A variant of the present story is that he bought the harp, writing-tablet and stylus of Euripides (*Life of Eur.* 5). He was a byword for bad poetry. The few fragments that survive are collected at *TrGF* 1 242-6; see also Hunter on Eubulus fr. 25a-29. λέγεται 'it is said', impersonal with the accusative and infinitive construction. δι' αὐτήν 'on that account': sc. τὴν τραγωιδίαν. εἰς τὰς λατομίας ἐμπέσειν 'was thrown into the quarries', a convenient prison: see p. 200. σὺν πολλῇ σπουδῇ: with κτησάμενος. ἐνθεος . . . καὶ κάτοχος 'inspired and possessed' by the Muses. ἐκ 'because of', 'by virtue of having'. ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ: sc. τῷ πυξίῳ. μακρῷ γελοιότερα 'even more ridiculous things'. Δωρὶς τέθηκεν ἡ Διονυσίου γυνή: the manuscripts have the meaningless Δωρικὸν ἦκεν; the conjecture Δωρὶς τέθηκεν is not certain, but fits the tone of the next quotation. Neither line seems intrinsically bad, but perhaps they were excruciatingly embarrassing in context. The metre is tragic iambic; Dionysius may have appeared as a character in one of his plays and lamented too fulsomely the death of his wife. Doris was one of two wives whom he married on the same day (Plut. *Dio* 3.1, Aelian, *VH* 13.10). γυναικα χρησίμην: the phrase is not obviously risible, since χρησίμος implies excellence as well as usefulness (LSJ 1.1). αὐτοῖς γὰρ ἐμπαίζουσιν οἱ μῶροι βροτῶν 'those who are foolish mock only themselves', however much they may try to mock others. This is well enough expressed, but ludicrous because the sentiment rebounds on its author. ἂν εἰρημένον εἶη 'might have been addressed'. τῷ Διονυσίῳ: dative of the agent. χρυσῶσαι . . . ἔδει 'ought to have been gilded'.

**16-17** What is the use of poring over your collection and caring for the volumes themselves when you live an immoral life and learn nothing from your books about how to speak and behave properly? Another hint at salacious details, and another deferral (cf. 3 πρὸς τῆς Λιβαντίδος n.).

**16** καὶ αὐτός 'you' (like Dionysius). ἀνατυλίττεις αἶε 'keep unrolling them'. διακολλᾷς καὶ περικόπτεις 'you glue them and trim the edges'. Although glueing and trimming are done during the actual production of papyrus (see p. 130), the scene here is the Collector's library, and the tasks should be such as his staff would perform. The glueing is therefore probably for repair purposes or to combine short works into single *uolumina*, and the 'trimming' may refer to smoothing of the roll-ends (*frontes*). The gluer (κολλητής, *glutinator*) was a specialised technician in big libraries (cf. Cic. *Ad Att.* 4.4a, 78 Sh. B.). ἀλείφεις

τῷ κρόκῳ καὶ τῷ κέδρῳ: in luxury editions the reverse of the papyrus, which was not used for writing, could be stained with saffron dye. On cedar oil see 1 συμβούλους n. διφθέρας . . . ὀμφαλούς: 7 διφθέραν, ὀμφαλόν nn. ὥς δὴ τι ἀπολαύσω αὐτῶν: δὴ conveys irony (*GP* 230): 'as if you are going to get benefit from them'. μᾶλλον δέ 'but on the contrary . . .', correcting what has just been said. ἤδη βελτίων γεγένησαι: biting sarcasm. τῶν ἰχθύων ἀφωνότερος: the fishes are proverbially mute: Aesch. *Pers.* 577-8 ἀναύδων . . . ἰ παιδῶν τᾶς ἀμιάντου, Pease on Cic. *De div.* 2.56 (p. 445), Spyridonidou-Skarsouli (1995) 317-19. The theme of the Collector's tongue-tied manner is continued from §5. βιοῖς δὲ ὡς οὐδ' εἰπεῖν καλόν 'you live in such a way that it is good not even to mention it'. μῖσος . . . ἄγριον, φασί 'a fierce hatred, as the saying goes'. τοιούτους 'men of that sort'. ἀπειργάζετο 'produced': LSJ π. φυγῇ φευκτέον: a so-called *figura etymologica*, in which a verb governs its related noun (λόγον λέγειν, etc.). Plato has similar expressions with φεύγειν three times (*Symp.* 195b, *Epist.* 354c, *Epin.* 974b). Here the effect is intensive: 'avoid them like the plague'. ὅτι πορρωτάτω 'as far as possible': for ὅτι with superlative adverbs see LSJ ὅ τι III. αὐτῶν: books.

**17** τῶν παλαιῶν 'the ancients'. λέγειν τε δύνασθαι καὶ πράττειν 'the ability to say and do'. ἐκείνα . . . ταῦτα: adverbial: 'neither in this way nor in that'. παρ' αὐτῶν: from books. τί ἄλλο: sc. ποιεῖ: LSJ ἄλλος III.2. διατριβᾶς 'amusement' (LSJ 1.1), or (perhaps more likely, in view of οἰκήσεις) 'living quarters' (LSJ 1.4). τίλφαις: usually translated 'cockroach', an insect not now noted for destroying books; but Martial groups the *blatta* (again usually translated 'cockroach') with the *tinea* or book-worm as a pest in libraries (6.61.7, 13.1.2, 14.37.2). See Beavis (1988) 80-5. πληγὰς ὡς ἀμελοῦσι τοῖς οἰκέταις 'and blows for your slaves for neglecting them' (the books). ἀμελοῦσι is dat. pl. participle. The library slaves will be punished for letting the books go to ruin, but their master will be at fault for never using them.

**18** The Collector is in danger of embarrassment if anyone should try to discuss a book with him. αἶε δέ τι πάντως ἔχεις 'and you do hold one at all times': LSJ πάντως II.1. ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς 'from the title'. This would regularly be written at the end of a work and also sometimes on a tag (σίλλυβος) attached to the roll. Since the Collector is here being accused of not reading his books, the reference is more likely to be to immediately visible tags. πράϊως 'without anxiety': so far, so good. φιλεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν συνουσίαι προχωρεῖν 'such remarks tend to develop in conversation': LSJ φιλέω II.2; for an analogous use of προχωρεῖν cf. Plato, *Theaet.* 150d προΐουσης τῆς συνουσίας. ὁ μὲν ἐπαινοῖ τι: the construction continues from εἰ . . . ἔροιτο above: 'then . . . if someone were to ask . . .'. τι . . . τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων 'something contained in the book'. οὐκ εὖζηι τότε χανεῖν σοι τὴν γῆν: at *Il.* 4.182 and 8.150 Homeric characters pray that the earth may swallow them up rather than that

they should suffer dishonour: τότε μοι χάνοι εὐρεῖα χθών; cf. *Il.* 6.282, 17.417 (γαῖα). κατὰ σεαυτοῦ ὁ Βελλεροφόντης περιφέρειν τὸ βιβλίον: a proverbial phrase: Spyridonidou-Skarsouli (1995) 268–71. In book 6 of the *Iliad* Glaucus tells the story of Bellerophon, who innocently carried to the king of Lycia a message which was his own death-warrant (152–211). The Collector is similarly ignorant of the dangers of carrying written material without knowledge of its contents.

**19** Demetrius the Cynic said that it was better for a text of *Bacchae* to be torn in pieces than for an unlearned man to ‘murder’ it by bad reading. In the play Pentheus is torn to pieces by Bacchantes. The violent subject is reminiscent of the wretched flute-player’s fate in §12. Δημήτριος . . . ὁ Κυνικός: a philosopher of the first century AD, a friend of Seneca and an outspoken critic: Billerbeck (1979) with p. 51, Kindstrand (1980). For the joke cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.10.36 *turgidus Alpinus iugulat* . . . *Memnona*. κατὰ τὸν ἄγγελον . . . ἦν ‘he was at the point where the Messenger . . .’. The gruesome messenger-speech telling of Pentheus’ death and dismemberment at the hands of his mother Agave and the band of Theban Maenads is at *Bacchae* 1043–1152. (The speech of Agave that followed was notorious for having been enacted in 53 BC with the severed head of Crassus as a ‘prop’: Plut. *Crassus* 33.) καὶ τήμερον ‘even to this day’. σπουδῆν . . . ἐσπούδακας: see 16 φυγῇ φευκτέον n. ὠφελείας . . . ἢ χρείας: sc. ἔνεκα, from τίνος ἔνεκα above. τῶν καὶ ἐπ’ ἐλάχιστον γε εἰδόντων ‘of those who have known you for even the shortest time’. κτένας ‘combs’ (nom. κτεῖς). The following list of useless possessions, arranged for the most part chastically, makes a similar point to the proverb τί κυνὶ καὶ βαλανεῖω; at the end of §5. ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπίδειξιν πλούτου σοι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔχει . . . ; ‘But is it not for you a matter of displaying wealth?’, literally ‘But doesn’t the matter have . . . ?’ μή + pres. indic. here marks a suggestion: cf. LSJ C.1.1. καὶ εἰς τὰ μηδὲν σοι χρήσιμα . . . ἀναλίσκεις ‘you spend money even on things unlikely to be of use to you’ (μὴ generic). ὅσα γε καμὲ Σύρον ὄντα εἰδέναι ‘as far as I know and I am a Syrian, too’ and therefore likely to know the truth; see p. 119. The phrase ὅσα γέ μ’ εἰδέναι is found in Aristophanes and Plato (*Clouds* 1252, *Theaet.* 145a). τοῦ γέροντος ἐκείνου ‘that old man’ who is known about only by you and me. σαυτὸν φέρων . . . παρενέγραψας: the verb implies sharp practice: ‘gone and smuggled yourself into’; for this use of φέρω see LSJ A.x.2.b. The Collector avoided ruin by timely legacy-hunting (cf. *Timon* 21–3). ἀγοράν προὔτιθεις τῶν βιβλίων ‘you would have been putting up your books for sale’: LSJ ἀγορά III.2.b.

**20** λοιπὸν οὖν δὴ ἐκεῖνο ‘So there remains the following reason . . .’, i.e. ‘the only explanation remaining is that . . .’, followed by the accusative and infinitive construction (πεπεισμένον . . . ὠνεῖσθαι). ὥς ἀληθεύεις τοὺς ἐπαίνους αὐτῶν ‘so that you might prove their praises true’. λόγους ἐπιδείκνυσθαι: epideictic or display speeches, such as a sophist might perform: cf. pp. 4–6, 109, 113.

χερσαίων βατράχων δίκην . . . κεκραγέναι ‘make a loud noise like stranded frogs’ (also at *On Salaried Posts* 28). A poetic quotation may lie behind these words. ἢ μὴ πίνειν: he behaves in the tyrannical way typical of patrons in satiric writing. οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπως ῥᾷστος εἴ ‘one way or another you are extremely easy . . .’. τῆς ῥινὸς ἔλκεσθαι ‘to be led by the nose’. ὅς ποτε ‘and indeed you . . .’. βασιλεῖ τινι: in view of §§22–3, it seems likely that the emperor Marcus Aurelius is meant here. ὁ ψευδαλέξανδρος: Balas, an impostor put forward by Attalus I of Pergamum and Ptolemy VI Philometor of Egypt. In 153 BC the Roman senate was persuaded to accept his title to the Seleucid throne. He claimed he was the son of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, and he reigned 150–145 BC under the name Alexander I Balas. See Diod. 31.32a, Jos. *AJ* 13.35–119. ὁ ψευδοφίλιππος ἐκεῖνος κναφεύς: Andriscus, a fuller from Adramyttium in the Roman province of Mysia, claimed to be the son of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, and took the name Philip. He reigned briefly (148–146 BC) but was defeated by Q. Metellus. See Diod. 31.40a, 32.9a. ὁ ψευδονέρων: Nero, like many celebrities before and since, was rumoured not to have died, but to be biding his time before a triumphant reappearance. At least three pretenders claimed to be Nero. One appeared in the year 69 (Tac. *Hist.* 1.2.1), another in the reign of Titus (Dio Cassius 66.19.3b), and a third among the Parthians in about the year 88 (Tac. *Hist.* 2.8–9, Suet. *Nero* 57.2). ὑπὸ τῷ ψευδο τεταγμένων ‘indexed under the heading pseudo-’: LSJ τάσσω III.1.a. The freestanding prefix may have been suggested by Ar. *Wasps* 77 οὐκ, ἀλλὰ φίλο μὲν ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τοῦ κακοῦ.

**21** Like you, Pyrrhus was vain of his looks; but his pretension was punctured by an old woman who said he resembled not Alexander but a cook called Batrachion. The bathetic name, ‘Froggy’, links this anecdote with the flatterers of §20, who are compared to frogs. προήεις ἐξυπτιάζων ‘you used to go out with your head in the air’: LSJ πρόειμι 5.a. ὅπου καὶ Πύρρον φασὶ ‘<what is surprising about your behaviour> when even Pyrrhus is said . . .’. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus (319–272 BC), best known for his ‘Pyrrhic’ victories over the Romans at Heraclea and Ausculum (280, 279 BC). According to Plutarch he had a deformity of the upper jaw (*Pyrrhus* 3.6); he will have had less reason for vanity than most. ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοίῳ ‘for a similar reason’. διαφθαρῆναι ‘were corrupted’. τὸ τῶν μουσικῶν τοῦτο ‘to use a musical term’. δις διὰ πασῶν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἦν ‘they were two whole octaves apart’, i.e. completely different: see *Lit. Prom.* 6 δις διὰ πασῶν n. καὶ ‘also’ (as well as that of Alexander). ἐκμεμάχθαι τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν μορφήν ‘that his appearance was the image of Alexander’s’: cf. Ar. *Thesm.* 514 λέων λέων σοι γέγονεν, αὐτέκμαγμα σόν. The metaphor is from modelling in wax (cf. *Dream* 2). ὕβριστά μοι εἰς τὸν Πύρρον ‘I have been uncomplimentary to Pyrrhus’ (Harmon): perf. pass. of ὑβρίζω used impersonally. κατὰ τοῦτο ‘in this respect’. τὸ . . . ἀπὸ τοῦτου ‘the dénouement’, ‘what followed from this’. καὶ πάννυ ‘very much’. συνετίθετο καὶ συνέπασχεν αὐτῷ ‘agreed with and expressed support for him’. ἐν Λαρίσῃ: a town in

Thessaly. **πρωβύτις ξένη** 'an old woman who came to visit him': LSJ ξένος A.1.2. **τῆς κορύζης** 'his stupidity', literally 'dribbling from the nose', 'catarrh' (cf. Plato, *Rep.* 343a): a blocked nose is equated with dullness. The opposite is Horace's description of the keen satirist Lucilius as *emunctae naris*, 'with a well-blown nose' (*Sat.* 1.4.8). **Περδίκκου**: Perdiccas, king of Macedonia c. 450–413 BC. **Κασσάνδρου**: Cassander (d. 297 BC) established himself as king of Macedonia c. 316 BC during the conflicts following Alexander's death. **ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἤξειν αὐτήν** 'that she would come to Alexander', i.e. pick him out from the 'identity parade' of portraits. **πολὺν χρόνον ἐπισχοῦσα** 'after long consideration': cf. 10 μικρὸν . . . ἐπισχών.

**22–3** You, like Pyrrhus, are proud of your supposed likeness; and you want to look like a learned man. You do this in hopes of coming to the notice of the emperor. But a glance at you or at a member of your entourage will be quite enough to reveal to him your real character. You surround yourself with shameless and effeminate perverts, and no books can hide the fact!

**22** τοῖς ὀρχησταῖς: pantomime dancers (*On Dance* 67), whose lascivious movements and demi-monde lifestyle scandalised the satirists: Hor. *Sat.* 1.9.24–5, Juv. 6.63, 6 O 19, Mart. 5.78.27–8 (Spanish girls), Lada-Richards (2007). **κιναιδών**: passive homosexuals. Probably from κινεῖν and αἰδοῖα, 'move the genitals' (*Et. Gud.* 322.13), though the iota is short in κιναιδος. **μανίαν . . . μαίνεσθαι**: see 16 φυγῇ φευκτέον n. **ἀπίθανος οὕτως ζωγράφος ὢν** 'being such a bad maker of likenesses'. **καὶ τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις ἑομοιοῦσθαι** 'to be made to resemble cultured people, too'. **τοῖς . . . ἐπαινοῦσιν**: the flatterers mentioned above. **ὑπὸ νωθείας** 'from slow-wittedness', a Platonic phrase (*Phdr.* 235d, *Theaet.* 195c). **τοῦ πράγματος**: collecting books. **βασιλεὺς . . . σοφὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ παιδείαν μάλιστα τιμών**: probably Marcus Aurelius, emperor 161–180, philosopher-ruler and author of the *Meditations*, who encouraged the arts and in whose reign Peregrinus Proteus died (§14 n.). **ὡς ὧνῃ** 'namely that you buy . . .'. **ἐν βραχεῖ** 'in a short time'.

**23** ὦ κατὰπυγον: an obscene Aristophanic term for a passive homosexual (*Ach.* 79, *Thesmo.* 200): cf. *Timon* 22 καταπύγων οἰκέτης ἐκ παιδικῶν τίμιος, Gleason (1995) 62–81. **οἶε τοσοῦτον μανδραγόραν κατακεχύσθαι αὐτοῦ** 'do you think so much mandragora has been poured over him . . .'. On the narcotic mandragora see on *Timon* 2 καθάπερ ὑπὸ μανδραγόρα καθεύδεις. **ταῦτα**: his affectation of culture. **ἐκεῖνα**: the details listed next. **ὧτα καὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ πολλοὶ βασιλέως** 'a ruler has many eyes and ears'. The Persian king had official 'eyes' and 'ears' who told him the state of affairs in his empire (Ar. *Ach.* 94, Xen. *Cyr.* 8.2.10–12). **τά . . . σά** 'your behaviour'. **εἰ . . . καὶ φθέγγαιο μόνον**: he has a noticeably effeminate voice. **μᾶλλον δὲ μὴ ἀποδύσει, εἰ δοκεῖ** 'but no, don't even take off your own clothes, if you like'. **τί οἶε** 'what do

you think will happen?' οἶε governs the accusative and infinitive construction of the following quotation. **Βάσσος ὁ ὑμέτερος . . . σοφιστής**: not known from elsewhere. The 2nd pers. pl. ὑμέτερος implies 'belonging to your social circle'. **Βάταλος ὁ αὐλητής**: Plutarch reports that Batalus was a nickname of the youthful Demosthenes, and gives three explanations: that it was the name of an effeminate flute-player or of a writer of disreputable verses, or that it was slang for an unmentionable part of the body (*Demosth.* 4.3). The βα- prefix, following Βάσσος, is meant to sound barbarous, oriental, and therefore effeminate: Headlam on Herondas 2.75. Eupolis in the *Baptae* (for which see §27 n.) is said to have used βάταλος to mean 'arse', and in the Lexicon of Harpocration it is said to denote αἰσχρουργία and κιναιδία: Eup. fr. 92 K–A. See further Lambin (1982). **Ἡμιθέων ὁ Συβαρίτης**: Ovid refers to *Sybaritica* in discussing sexually explicit and immoral literature (*Trist.* 2.417; cf. Mart. 12.95.2), and Hemitheon is presumably the author of these. The θαυμαστοὶ . . . νόμοι referred to here will have been precepts for lovers, perhaps homosexual lovers, a didactic or pseudo-didactic treatise of a type now exemplified only by Ovid's *Ars amatoria* and *Remedia amoris*. Sybaris was a byword for luxury and decadence (Hdt. 6.127.1, Ar. *Peace* 344, *CPG* 1 156, 181). **θαυμαστούς**: ironic. **λεαίνεσθαι καὶ παρατίλλεσθαι** 'be smoothed and undergo depilation' to produce the smooth, effeminate skin fashionable among κιναιδοὶ and disgusting to satirists: Courtney on Juv. 2.12. **πάσχειν καὶ ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνα**: passive and active homosexual behaviour. ἐκεῖνα leaves to the imagination Hemitheon's detailed precepts on sexual positions, for example. **λεοντήν . . . Ἡρακλέα εἶναι αὐτόν**: perhaps an allusion to the beginning of Aristophanes' *Frogs*, where the effeminate Dionysus disguises himself with lion-skin and club (46–7) before his visit to Hades but is easily recognised by an amused Heracles. **χύτραις λημώντες**: a vivid phrase for poor sight. χύτρα is a round pot, and the idea is that the sores or swellings in the eyes are as big as pots. Similar is Ar. *Clouds* 327 λημαῖς κολοκύνταις ('gourds'). Both seem to have been proverbial phrases (*CPG* 1 263). **τῷ σχήματι**: the costume of lion-skin and club. **τράχηλος ἐπικεκλασμένος** 'the neck bent delicately' (LSJ κλάω 3, Latin *fractus*). For the τράχηλος, φωνή and βλέμμα cf. Pers. 1.17–18 *liquido cum plasmate guttur l mobile collueris paranti fractus oculo*, 'after gargling your supple throat by a liquid process of tuning, with a languishing roll of your wanton eye', 98 *tenerum et laxa ceruice legendum*, 'soft and adapted for being recited with a gentle bend of the neck' (tr. Conington). **ψιμίθιον** 'white lead', used for lightening a dark complexion. On this and φῦκος, rouge made from a type of seaweed, see Grillet (1975) 32–40. **μαστίχη** 'mastic', a fragrant resin exuded from the bark of certain trees and used as a cosmetic. **ὄλως** 'in short': 4 ὄλως n. **θᾶπτον . . . κιναιδὸν** 'you could hide five elephants under your arm more readily than a single pervert'. μάλη is the armpit, and the phrase ὑπὸ μάλης is normally used of concealment (Plato, *Gorg.* 469d of a hidden weapon). But at Plato, *Laws* 789c fighting-cocks are said to be carried ὑπὸ μάλης, and still today keepers of chickens know to quiet a bird by holding its head in the dark armpit. So in this proverb, not recorded elsewhere

and possibly invented by Lucian, the elephants perhaps replace the expected fowls and the *cinaedus* draws attention even more than elephants. **σκεπόμενος βιβλίωι:** a book will not provide 'cover' for his real nature. Cf. §4 κἄν . . . αὐτὰ . . . περιβαλλόμενος περινοστήις.

**24-26** Your expenditure on books will be your ruin. Better to sell them and concentrate on buying slaves who will minister discreetly to your perverted tastes. If you rely on free men in that way, they will spread scandalous gossip about you. So get rid of your library; after all, you are learned enough already!

**24** τὸ . . . ὅλον 'completely'. ἐλπίδας 'expectations', 'prospects'. συνήγορον 'advocate'. τὸν Ἀττικὸν καὶ Καλλίνον: 2 ὁ Καλλίνος . . . n. ἐπιτρίψοντας καὶ . . . συνελάσσοντας: the participles are governed by an unexpressed verb to be understood from 'you think they will be' in the preceding sentence: 'you will find that they are . . .'. ἦν οἱ θεοὶ ἐθέλωσι: *dis uolentibus*, 'if there is any justice'. δέον 'when you ought to . . .': acc. absolute, governing ἀποδόσθαι μὲν and ἀποδοῦναι δέ, 'give away' and 'pay back': LSJ III, I.I. τινι τῶν πεπαιδευμένων: the speaker no doubt includes himself amongst these hopeful recipients. τὴν νεόκτητον ταύτην οἰκίαν 'this new establishment of yours' as described above and in the following sentence (23 οἰκέται, 25 τῶν οἰκόθεν). ἀνδραποδοκαπήλοις 'slave-dealers', contrasting with βιβλιοκαπήλων above. μέρος γοῦν 'a part, at any rate'; though his debts are so great that he cannot clear them even by selling house and library. πολλῶν τῶν ὀφειλομένων 'those great debts of yours'.

**25** καὶ γὰρ κάκεινα appears to mean 'For there's this point, too'. ὀλίγου 'almost' (again below). μαιρακίων τῶν ἐξώρων καὶ ἤδη καρτερῶν 'lads who are getting on in years and already well-built'. The Collector's taste is not for boys (the more usual object of male desires) but for strapping youths. τὸ πρᾶγμα: the κτήσις and ὦνῃ just mentioned. πρὸς ἄμφω διαρκεῖν 'supports both'. ὡς ἱερὸν χρῆμα συμβουλή 'how sacred a thing is good advice': it is one's sacred duty to be candid. The proverb is a common one (cf. *Tips for Orators* I, Epich. fr. 238 K-A, Ar. fr. 32 K A, Xen. *Anab.* 5.6.4, Callim. fr. 195.1, *CPG* I 96), but it was probably familiar to Lucian from the opening of Plato's *Theages* (122b), where the topic is παιδεία. ἀξιώ σε 'I urge you': LSJ II.2. τῶν μηδὲν προσηκόντων 'things that have nothing to do with you', your books. ἐπιλειπόντων σε 'failing you', being in too short supply. μεταστέλλοιο 'send for'. In Classical Attic a subjunctive would be expected here after the present tense main verb. οἷς ἀκίνδυνον ἀπελθοῦσιν . . . ἐξαγορεύσαι 'for whom it is no risk to go away and report . . .'. ἦν μὴ λάβωσιν ἅπαντα 'if they are not completely satisfied' (there is a sexual innuendo). οἷα . . . αἰσχιστα 'such as, for example, the disgusting things which . . .'. ὁ πόρνος: a male prostitute. ἔτι καὶ δῆγματα ἐπιδεικνύς 'and he even showed bite-marks',

inflicted by you in the extremity of lust. ἀλλ' ἐγωγε . . . διηγούμενους: the speaker ironically states that in attempting to defend the Collector's reputation he almost came to blows with the prostitute. μάρτυρας ἂν παρασχοίμην τοὺς τότε παρόντας 'I could bring forward as witnesses the people who were present at that time'. ἐνέτριψα 'inflicted'. καὶ ἄλλον ἐπεκαλέσατο μάρτυρα τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ ἄλλον 'he summoned witnesses of the same fact one after another'. ταῦτά καὶ λόγοις διηγούμενους 'all telling the same tale' and corroborating the evidence of the prostitute. The words καὶ λόγοις contrast with an implied ἔργοις, the bite-marks. πρὸς . . . ταῦτα 'that being the case', 'for this reason': LSJ οὗτος C.VIII.1.b. ὥς . . . ἐχῆις 'so that you can'. ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν: cf. 23 πάσχειν καὶ ποιεῖν n. ὥστε μὲν γὰρ . . .: since you cannot be persuaded to reform, you might at least be made more discreet. οὐδὲ κύων ἄπαξ παύσαιτ' ἂν σκυτοτραγεῖν μαθοῦσα 'once a dog has learnt to chew leather, it will not stop': ἄπαξ qualifies μαθοῦσα. Horace, *Sat.* 2.5.83 *ut canis a corio numquam absterrebatur uncto* (of a wife who has once tasted of an old man's largesse) renders the Greek σκυτοτραγεῖν but in using *corio* alludes to another similar proverb, χαλεπὸν χορίου κύνα γεῦειν (*CPG* I 376-7, Theoc. 10.11); χορίον (not related to *corium*) means 'afterbirth' or 'guts'. The proverb is discussed by Williams (1959).

**26** The Collector is told with mock-seriousness that he is so well read as no longer to need his books. μόνον οὐκ 'virtually': LSJ B.II.3. ἐπ' ἄκρον τοῦ χεῖλους: Eng. 'at your fingertips' (not 'on the tip of your tongue', which implies momentary forgetfulness). λόγων τέχνας: the art of rhetoric. ὀνομάτων χρήσιν τῶν Ἀττικῶν: on Atticism see pp. 4, 6, 157. πάνσοφόν τι χρῆμα 'a prodigy of learning'. ἄκρον ἐν παιδείᾳ 'at the highest point of culture': LSJ ἄκρον II.1. σοὶ ἐνδιατρίβειν 'dwell on you', concentrate on you as a subject for satire. ἐπειδὴ χαίρεις ἐξαπατώμενος 'because you love to be deceived' (as is clear from your encouraging flatterers).

**27** A different mode of attack: the Collector is asked which authors he has read, and when he can possibly find the time for reading. Πλάτωνος . . . Ἀντισθένης . . . Ἀρχιλόχου . . . Ἰππώνακτος: authors least likely to have been read by the Collector. It would hardly be possible to read Plato and remain so ignorant. Antisthenes, an austere pupil of Socrates, was regarded by many as the founder of the Cynic tradition (pp. 9-10); but from 'telling it is as it is' the hypocritical Collector is decidedly averse. Archilochus (7th cent.) and Hipponax (6th cent.) were poets famed for their outspoken attacks, that is, for telling unwelcome truths. They were famed also for unblushing obscenity; and Lucian's account of the Collector's ménage is in the same tradition. Αἰσχίνου τὸν κατὰ Τίμαρχον λόγον: 'Aeschines' speech *Against Timarchus*', in which the orator sets out detailed evidence to prove that as a youth Timarchus (an ally of his enemy Demosthenes) had dissolutely squandered his patrimony and had prostituted himself.

ὑποδέδουκας 'have taken on', 'have dipped into': LSJ II.3.b. The verb is chosen to suit the following discussion of *Baptae*, since ὑποδύω, like βάπτω and βαπτίζω, means 'plunge into'. Ἀριστοφάνην . . . Εὐπολιν: fifth-century comic poets famous for outspoken denunciations of their contemporaries. τοὺς Βάπτας: a play of Eupolis notorious for its licentious action and for its savage personal attack on Alcibiades, who was said to have had the poet killed soon afterwards. The Chorus of *Baptae*, so called because they underwent ritual baptism or perhaps because they effeminately dyed their hair, were worshippers of the Thracian goddess Cotyto, whose cult was briefly popular at Athens in the later fifth century. Her worship seems to have included transvestism, ecstatic dancing and orgiastic behaviour, vices which should make the Collector blush with conscience. The play is referred to by Juvenal: see *Sat.* 2.91-2 with the note of Courtney, Eupolis fr. 76-98 K. A. Storey (2003) 37-9, 94-111. οὐδέν σου τὰ κεῖ καθίκετο 'didn't the things <recounted> there affect you at all?' ψυχὴν . . . χερσίν: it is to be feared that he approaches his books with an unclean soul and with hands still defiled with recent debaucheries. The phrase τίνα ψυχὴν ἔχων; usually means 'with what feelings . . .?' (LSJ ψυχή IV.3), but here 'soul' is emphasised. ἐπιτεταγμένος ἤδη ἐκείνοις 'once you have given those associates of yours their orders' for their dubious night-time entertainments. But the passive is unexpected. Perhaps ἐκείνοις is dat. of the agent, and he is pictured as masochistically being given orders by his associates.

28 πρὸς Κότυος: see 27 Βάπτας n. τολμήσης: his even using books is shocking. τὰ σαυτοῦ: his usual immoral behaviour. μηδὲ ἐκεῖνα: sc. ἐργάζεσθαι. τὴν Εὐριπίδου Φαίδραν: in a famous soliloquy in *Hippolytus* (373-430) Phaedra ruminates on the reasons why human beings do wrong when they know clearly what is right, and describes how she tried in vain to control her passion for her stepson Hippolytus. She wonders how adulteresses can look their husbands in the face 'and not tremble at the darkness which is their accomplice, nor fear that the very timbers of the house might utter a protest' (417-18). The quotation continues the theme of guilty conscience, and the Collector's lack of it. ὑπὲρ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀγανακτοῦσαν 'speaking indignantly about women'. διέγνωσται 'you are determined' (sc. σοί). τὴν δόξαν τῶν κτημάτων: his reputation for having a good library. ἱκανόν σοι καὶ τοῦτο 'this alone is enough for you'. ὑπαγάγῃς τῇ γλώττῃ 'subject to your tongue'; because he will 'murder' them with bad reading. μηδὲν δεινόν σε εἰργασμένα 'when they have done you no harm'. The books would plead that they had done nothing to deserve such cruel treatment. Αἰθίοπα σμήχειν ἐπιχειρῶ 'wash an Ethiop white', proverbial for a hopeless task: Spyridonidou-Skarsouli (1995) 148-53. χρήσῃ εἰς οὐδέν 'will make no good use of them'. οἷς ἀπόχρη 'for whom it is enough . . .'. On the impersonal use see LSJ ἀποχράω A.2.b. τῆς φωνῆς 'the language'.

29 Doctors and barbers are to be judged not by the showiness of their implements, but by their skill. The speaker recurs to the theme of §§ 5, 8-14. ἐκπλήξειν 'astonish people'. νάρθηκας 'boxes' for medicines. σικύας 'cupping glasses', gourd-shaped vessels used for withdrawing blood (Plato, *Tim.* 79e). σμίλας: surgeon's knives. οὐδὲ . . . ἴσασιν 'don't even know'. παρελθὼν . . . τις εἰς τὸ μέσον τῶν μεμαθηκότων 'one who has come into the midst of the experts', a person who has become an expert himself, a proper medical practitioner. φλεβότομον 'lancet'. εὖ μάλα ἠκονημένον . . . ἰοῦ τᾶλλα μεστόν 'well sharpened but otherwise full of rust': it is the fitness for purpose, not the ornamentation, that matters. Fortunately Lucian was not himself a doctor. ἀπήλλαξεν: gnomic (generalising) aorist. τὰ σά 'your behaviour'. κουρέας 'barbers'. μαχαιρίδας 'shears' or 'scissors'. ἰδιώτας 'amateurish': LSJ III.3 οὐ μὴν λήσειν γε διὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲν εἰδότης 'will not on that account disguise their total ignorance'. παρὰ τοῖς γείτοσιν αὐτῶν 'at their neighbours' shops'. τὰ ἐκείνων κάτοπτρα: the only good use for their fancy mirrors is for arranging hair cut by someone else.

30 καὶ σύ 'you, too', like the incompetent barber. χρήσεαι ἄν . . . χρήσασθαι: word-play on the meanings 'lend' and 'use': LSJ χράω (B) B.1, C.11. τὸ τῆς κυνός . . . ἐν τῇ φάτνῃ: *Timon* 14 καθάπερ . . . n. ἐπιτρέπει 'yields it up': LSJ II.1. τό γε νῦν εἶναι: εἶναι is redundant: LSJ E.1. παρρησιάζομαι . . . αὐθις ἀκούσῃ πολλαῖς: a public humiliation, in the style of Aristophanes, Archilochus or Hipponax (all mentioned in §27), is envisaged.



## IV IN PRAISE OF THE FLY

The fly might seem a quirky and unusual subject for encomium, but to a second-century audience such topics were entirely familiar. Praise is a form of persuasion, and teachers of rhetoric claimed to provide persuasive techniques useful in any situation. They demonstrated their versatility and ingenuity by denouncing the irreproachable and defending the indefensible, rehabilitating the despised or eulogising the repulsive and the disgusting. In the fifth century BC Gorgias composed his famous encomium of Helen, still extant, and later Polycrates, a pupil of Isocrates, praised the cruel tyrant Busiris (Lucian's *Phalaris I* and *II* are similar). Others would laud a Thersites or impugn the virtue of a Penelope. In schools of rhetoric pupils practised arguing both sides of a case, and unlikely encomia and *ψόγοι* had their place in the curriculum, as we see from a practice exercise called *Praise of the Fig* preserved on a papyrus of the third century AD (P. Oxy. 2084). For these purposes, the more insignificant or nastier the subject, the greater the rhetorical challenge. We hear of encomia of fever, gout, blindness, deafness, hair, baldness, adultery, old age, vomit, dung and death; and of the ass, horse, cow, mouse, parrot, ant, bee, gnat, louse and bed-bug. This is the literary and social context of Lucian's *Fly*, a fifteen-minute showpiece talk on an insignificant but clearly not unfamiliar subject. Many in his audience would have attempted such compositions themselves, and *The Fly* appeals to the common stock of knowledge of the *παιδαδευμένοι* while displaying the rhetorical superiority of its author.

In this piece Lucian employs a relaxed and simple style (*ἀφέλεια*) and avoids complex periodic sentences. The effect is of an easy mastery of the topic and a tasteful balance between entertainment and instruction; he gives the impression that if he chose he could speak at greater length on any aspect of his subject, but that he knows where to draw the line (11, 12 fin.). He uses traditional elements of the encomium, referring to the ancestry, upbringing and achievements of his subject – *γένεσις*, *φύσις*, *ἀνατροφή*, *ἀρεταί*, *ἐπιτηδεύματα*, all this as prescribed in the rhetorical handbooks (cf. Men. Rhet. 420.10–14) – together with quotations, myths and proverbs (cf. Fronto p. 215 §3 Van den Hout), but he chattily combines them so as to avoid predictability (as recommended in Men. Rhet. 391.18–26). The aim is to give a flavour of science without the gravity of scientific prose, and to display an unpedantic and genial author in cultured control of his material.

An important aspect of *The Fly* is comparison (*σύγκρισις*), often introduced by the preposition *κατά*, 'like'. Flies are *not like* other winged creatures, but *like* grasshoppers (1 οὐ κατὰ . . . ἀλλὰ κατὰ . . .); their wings are like the peacock's; they do not fly like bats; they do not sound like bees; their heads are not like crickets'; their waists are not like wasps'; they have breastplate-like abdomens; their proboscis is like an elephant's trunk (see Pernot (1993) 233–5). Defined and characterised as unique by its difference from other creatures, the fly receives praise for the silkiness of its wings, the sweetness of its 'song' (2 ὠιδῆς), the grace

of its flight, its *σύνεσις* and *ἐλευθερία*, its honesty and its parasite-like existence, before we are told that it really *was* once a human being (10), and that real human beings have the name 'Fly' (11). Where humans are concerned its bite is said to be light (3 οὐ μετὰ μεγάλης ὀδύνης), but rhetorical expediency allows the same bite to be praised as unusually powerful in respect of animals (6 οὕτω δ' ἰσχυρὰ ἔστιν . . .). Of this anthropomorphising Homer is happily found to be the originator (5 ἔθνη); and Homeric references lend distinction to any cause. Tragic and comic poets, too, are quoted (11). Lucian thus secures his place in a venerable tradition of fly-praise reaching back to Homer himself. The essay concludes with a miniature encomium on a particularly powerful fly, raising its subject almost to a godlike level. (For this conclusion cf. *Anacreontea* 34 West μακαρίζομέν σε, τέττιξ . . . 18 σχεδὸν εἴ θεοῖς ὅμοιος.)

The subject is treated lightly, with wit and humour. Humour is inherent in the comparison between fly and elephant, fly and humans, fly and god. It is amusing to see the learned sophist earnestly engaged with an unworthy subject, and striving to make it worthy of his own and his audience's attention. Witty are the elegance and ingenuity of the presentation; the variation of focus between microscopic and macroscopic levels; and the novel exploitation of a common stock of knowledge, such that learning is recognition and recognition a confirmation of shared culture.

When recited in public this short piece will have been part of a longer performance, including no doubt some of Lucian's satirical works. The fly is a fine image for the satirist. Socrates spoke of himself as a gadfly (Plato, *Apol.* 30e), and the Cynic Diogenes was called a wasp (Dio, *Or.* 8.3); the fly, small but with a keen bite, brave and persistent, troublesome to all mankind, particularly annoying to the great, and characterised as pesky already by Homer (5 οὐ λένοντι . . . n.), is an excellent figure for the nose, obtrusive, pretension-puncturing persona of the satirist, and for his small-scale, sweet-sounding but bitingly effective attacks. The essay itself, however, demonstrates an opposite approach, manufacturing rather than puncturing pretension by extolling the fly beyond its deserts.

*Bibliography*

Editions: Macleod (OCT) 1 26 30, Bompaire 1 75 86. Translations: Harmon 1 81 95, Costa 3 6, Sidwell 249 53, 410–12. Text and commentary: Billerbeck · Zubler, useful also on the surprisingly extensive later influence of *The Fly*. On praise techniques: Pernot (1993). On flies in Greece: Davies Kathirithamby (1986) 150 64, Beavis (1988) 220 42. On flies in Homer: Maiullari (2003). On praise of the insignificant: Pease (1926), Miller (1956). General: Tomarken (1990) 18 20, Whitmarsh (2003) 77–8.

1 οὐ τὸ μικρότατον: Lucian begins humorously by making the best of his subject's size: the fly is not the smallest winged creature. Negated adjectives are



often understatements (e.g. 5 σύνεσιν . . . οὐ μικράν), and οὐ τὸ σμικρότατον would then mean 'the biggest'. Here that meaning, though perhaps invited by the rhetoric of the opening, is not justified. τῶν ὀρνέων 'winged creatures; cf. 4 ἐξ ἔρπετου ὀρνεον γίνεται, *Dips.* 3. Usually ὀρνεον means 'bird'. Latin *uolucris* is sometimes used of insects: *OLD* c. ὅσον . . . παραβάλλειν 'if one compares it with . . .', literally 'so far as comparing it with . . .'. For this use of ὅσον with an infinitive (or indicative) see LSJ ὅσος iv.1a, παραβάλλω A.iii.2. ἐμπῖσι καὶ κώνωφι 'gnats and midges'. In common parlance there seems to have been no difference between the two terms. The ἐμπῖς is probably named from ἐμπίνειν, being a bloodsucker. In the *Clouds* of Aristophanes its hum features as a ridiculously unimportant research topic for Socrates (156-68). See Beavis (1988) 229-36. ἀπολείπεται 'falls short of . . .': LSJ c.ii.2. ἐπτέρωται . . . ἄλλοις 'it is not winged (perf. pass. of πτερώω) in the same way as other <winged creatures>'. From what follows it seems that birds are meant here. For κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ + dat. cf. 3 κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἐλέφασιν. ὡς . . . χρῆσθαι 'so as to be covered with some (sc. πτεροῖς) all over its body and to use others for flight'. τὰ ὠκύπτερα are long wing-feathers (*Icarom.* 3, *True History* 1.13). ὑμενόπτερος: in the Linnaean classification the Hymenoptera are an order of insects, but the word is not used by Aristotle, who divides flying creatures into πτερωτά, δερμόπτερα and πτιλωτά, the last being his equivalent for ὑμενόπτερα (*HA* 490a6-13). ἀπαλώτερα 'more delicate': LSJ ii.1. ἡ Ἰνδική (sc. ἐσθής): silk, from the second century BC imported from China by the sea route via India, and also from India itself: Beavis (1988) 140-1, 146-8. Soft, see-through silk garments were a byword for luxury. διήνθισται 'is iridescent'. In post-Classical Greek ἄνθος often means 'bright colour': Gow on Theoc. 15.116. κατὰ τοὺς ταῶνας: continuing the Indian theme, since peacocks come from India.

2 εἰρεσῖαι συνεχεῖ 'with a constant rowing motion'. In poetry at least the comparison is a common one (Aesch. *Agam.* 52, Virg. *Aen.* 1.301, 6.19; cf. *Timon* 40); the imagery of steady oar-beats seems amusingly unsuitable for the flitting of a bat. κατ' ἀκρίδας μετὰ πηδήματος: the grasshopper launches itself with a leap. ροιζήματι 'buzzing'. εὐκαμπής: the basic meaning is 'well bent' or 'flexible'; so 'bends its course to whichever . . .'. βαρύβρομον: an epic-sounding word; cf. *Timon* 1 ἡ βαρύβρομος βροντή in a context explicitly of epic epithets. Here it is amusingly applied to the humble bumble-bee. ἐνδεικνυμένης 'manifesting': LSJ ii.b.3. σάλπιγγος: it may be relevant that at Ar. *Clouds* 165 the gnat's arse is called its σάλπιγξ: cf. 1 ἐμπῖσι καὶ κώνωφι n.

3 τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῶμα 'as for the rest of its body': acc. of respect. εὐπεριάγωγος: περιάγειν is a standard term for the 'turning' of the head or neck. οὐ συμπεφυκυῖα ὡς ἡ τῶν ἀκρίδων: grasshoppers and crickets have no obvious neck. προπαλεῖς 'prominent'. πολὺ τοῦ κέρατος ἔχοντες: cf. Arist. *PA* 657b30-658a3 (of animals without eyelids) 'to compensate for the

lack of this protection . . . these creatures have hard eyes (σκληρόφθαλμά ἐστιν): it is as though the cycloid were all of a piece with the eyeball, and the creature looked through the lid as well. But since the vision is bound to be dimmed by this hardness of the eye, Nature has given the Insects . . . movable eyes . . . to enable them to turn towards the light and catch its rays and so quicken their vision' (tr. Peck); cf. *HA* 537b11-12. Billerbeck-Zubler ad loc. suggest that πολὺ τοῦ κέρατος may allude to a famous passage in book 19 of the *Odyssey*, where Odysseus restrains himself from weeping ὀφθαλμοὶ δ' ὡς εἰ κέρα ἔστασαν ἢ ἐσίδηρος ἢ ἀτρέμας ἐν βλεφάροισι (211-12). ἐκπεφύκασιν αὐτῇ οἱ πόδες οὐ κατὰ τοὺς σφῆκας πᾶν ἐσφιγμένηι: literally, 'the legs grow from it not very pinched-in as with wasps' (ἐσφ. perf. pass. part. of σφίγγω), i.e. the fly's legs do not grow from a pinched-in waist or thorax; thorax and abdomen are smoothly united. καὶ αὐτῇ 'too', referring back to στέρνον εὐπαγές. θώρακι . . . ἔχουσα 'is like a corselet with flat plates and scales'. There is a reference to the θώραξ φολιδωτός, 'a coat of mail of small metal plates overlapping one another' (LSJ φολιδωτός). A fly's abdomen is in parallel and apparently jointed bands. ἀμύνεται 'defends itself'. There is confusion here between the offensive sting of bees, wasps, etc., and the incidental irritation from the bite of bloodsucking insects. τοῦρροπύγιον 'the rear'. Aristophanes uses this word of the gnat's hind quarters at *Clouds* 158, and of the wasp-chorus's realistic costume at *Wasps* 1075. Probably Lucian is indebted to the *Clouds* passage: see 1 ἐμπῖσι καὶ κώνωφι, 2 σάλπιγγος nn. κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἐλέφασιν: for κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ see 1 ἐπτέρωται . . . n. The comparison with the elephant is made already by Aristotle at *PA* 661a23-9: 'tongues of this sort . . . are on a par with the elephant's nose; in their tongue these creatures have a useful sting just as the elephant has a handy implement in his trunk' (tr. Peck); cf. *PA* 682b36-683a3. προνομεύει: the tongue is called προνομαῖα in §6; another word for it is προνομή. προσφῦσα 'holding fast' (LSJ ii.2), referring to the suction. ὀδοὺς προκύπτει: the sharp proboscis of the blood-drinking flies. πίνει . . . αἷμα: this is only generically true: blood-sucking flies do not drink milk, and milk-loving houseflies cannot suck blood. καὶ ὅσα χερσὶ 'just like hands': LSJ ὅσος iv.7. ἴδοις ἂν . . . ἐδώδιμον: this is mistaken. When held up like this, the front legs are rubbing clean the lidless eyes (Arist. *PA* 683a26-31, Pliny, *NH* 11.258).

4 γίνεται . . . ὕστερον: the life-cycle of flies, or rather of flesh-flies. There seems to be confusion here between the traditional notion that maggots are spontaneously generated in carrion and the true observation that they are laid there by flies: the words γίνεται . . . ἐξ ἀνθρώπων suggest spontaneous generation, but κυοφορεῖ and ἀποτίκτει σκόληκα suggest the laying of maggots. Mistaken, too, is the notion that the maggot develops gradually into a fly: it pupates and emerges fully formed. For Aristotle's similar confusion as to generation see Beavis (1988) 220-1. The link between flies, maggots and putrid flesh is made already by Homer at *Il.* 19.25-6: μῦϊα καδδῦσαι κατὰ χαλκοτύπους ὠτειλὰς ἢ εὐλὰς ἐγγεῖνωνται.

ὄρνεον: 1 τῶν ὀρνέων n. καὶ κυοφορεῖ δέ: here καὶ . . . δέ marks the break between details of development and facts about breeding: τὴν μυῖαν ὕστερον 'which later becomes a fly'. πλὴν ἐλαίου. . . . πιεῖν: this belief is attested elsewhere: Beavis (1988) 222 cites Alex. Aphr. *Pz* 1.64. καὶ μέντοι, common in Xenophon and Plato, marks a lively continuation of the narrative: *GP* 413 15. ὠκύμορος: the fly is proverbially ephemeral: the lyric poet Simonides in a famous passage (fr. 16, *PMG* 521) spoke of the ὠκεῖα . . . μετάστασις of the fly, meaning according to some scholars its quick transition from life to death (but according to others its darting movements). ἐς στενόν 'in a narrow span'. πολιτεύεται 'conducts its affairs'. The metaphor lends ludicrous solemnity to the fly's life. In the next sentence εἰρήνην ἄγει, which usually means 'lives in peace' rather than 'keeps quiet', continues the idea. ὑπέπτηχε 'adopts a crouching position'. The perfect tense perhaps emphasises the continuing state: cf. 12 ὑπέπτηχυσίαι.

5 ἐπίβουλον καὶ πολέμιον . . . λοχῶντα: more anthropomorphising vocabulary. ἐπιτηρεῖ 'keeps it under surveillance'. ἐκκλίνουσα τὴν ὁρμήν 'turning aside its course': cf. 2 εὐκαμπῆς . . . ὁρμήσῃ. ὥς μὴ ἀλίσκοιτο: in Classical Attic a subjunctive would be required in this final clause, the main verb being in a primary tense (*GMT* §322), but Lucian does not observe this norm: see Macleod (1977). Cf. below ἀποκρούεται . . . ὥς μὴ . . . ἐμπέσοι. σαγηνευθεῖσα: the σαγήνη is a hunting-net or fisherman's drag-net (for which cf. *Timon* 22 ὁ θύννος ἐκ μυχοῦ τῆς σαγήνης διέφυγεν). ἀλλ' ὅς . . . i.e. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ὅς μεγαλοφωνότατος ἐστὶ, a common form of ellipse. μεγαλοφωνότατος 'most grandiloquent'. Ὀμηρος: the grandest and most sublime of poets and the basis of Greek education. Authors of all periods, and in particular those of the Second Sophistic, make constant allusion to the *Iliad* and, to a lesser extent, the *Odyssey*, both as an appeal to common culture (see pp. 3 6) and because treatment by Homer lent distinction to a topic. τὸν . . . ἄριστον τῶν ἡρώων: Achilles was called 'best of the Achaeans'; Lucian is using typically encomiastic exaggeration to set the fly in the best possible light. οὐ λέοντι ἢ παρδάλει ἢ ὑί ἄλλὰ τῷ θάρσει τῆς μυῖας: the negative paradigm is itself Homeric and associated with Menelaus, who at *Il.* 17.19 23 addresses the boastful Euphorbus with the words 'By father Zeus, it is not good to boast excessively. Not so great, it seems, is the strength of the leopard or lion or vicious wild boar . . . as is that of Panthus' sons with their ash spears.' Later in the same book is found the simile to which Lucian refers (569 72): Athena gives strength to Menelaus καὶ οἱ μυῖς θάρσος ἐνὶ στήθεσιν ἔθηκεν, ἢ ἢ τε ἐργασμένη μάλα περ χροὸς ἀνδρομέοιο ἢ ἰσχανάαι δακέειν, λαρόν τε οἱ αἰμ' ἀνθρώπου ('she put in his heart boldness like that of a fly which, though it may be swatted away from human flesh, persists in biting, since a man's blood is sweet to it'). τῷ ἀτρέστῳ καὶ λιπαρεῖ 'the fearlessness and perseverance'. οὐδὲ θράσος . . . ἀλλὰ θάρσος: these variant forms of the same word were distinguished in meaning in Attic prose, θάρσος

implying good courage, θράσος insolent over-boldness (*Arist. EE* 1234b12). Homer uses θράσος only once (*Il.* 14.416), apparently with no differentiation of meaning from his usual θάρσος, but Lucian contrives to praise the fly by attributing to Homer a later nuance. ἐφίεται τοῦ δήγατος paraphrases ἰσχανάαι δακέειν (*Il.* 17.572); cf. λιπαρεῖ above. ἀσπάζεται 'salutes'. οὕτω κοσμεῖ τὰ ἔπη μνημονευομένη: the idea that the fly contributes to the excellence of Homer's work is a ludicrous adaptation of the cliché that praiser and praised are each of benefit to the other; see Pernot (1993) 703-4. ἄρτι μὲν . . . ἄρτι δέ: like νῦν μὲν . . . νῦν δέ. Cf. *Nigr.* 4. ἀγελαίαν πτήσιν . . . ἐπὶ τὸ γάλα 'its flight in swarms after the milk': *Il.* 2.469 71 (the countless number of Greek soldiers) ἡύτε μυιάων ὀδινάων ἔθνεα πολλὰ, ἢ αἶ τε κατὰ σταθμὸν ποιμνήιον ἡλάσκουσιν ἢ ὥρη ἐν εἰαρινῇ, ὅτε τε γλάγος ἄγγεα δεύει ('like the numerous swarms of flies which go around the shepherd's dwelling in springtime when the milk-pails are full'), *Il.* 16.641-3 (fighting around a corpse) ὥς ὅτε μυῖαι ἢ σταθμῷ ἐνὶ βρομέωσι περιγλαγέας κατὰ πέλλας ἢ ὥρη ἐν εἰαρινῇ, ὅτε τε γλάγος ἄγγεα δεύει ('as when flies buzz round buckets of milk in the steading in springtime, when the milk-pails are full'). διέρχεται 'recounts': LSJ 1.6. ὁπότε . . . παραδείγματι: *Il.* 4.130-1 (Athena wards off an arrow from Menelaus) ἡ δὲ τόσον μὲν ἔργεν ἀπὸ χροός, ὥς ὅτε μήτηρ ἢ παιδὸς ἔεργει μυῖαν, ὅθ' ἡδέι λέξετα ὕπνῳ ('she kept it off from his flesh just so much as a mother when she wafts a fly away from her sweetly sleeping child'). ὥς μὴ ἐπὶ τὰ καιριώτατα ἐμπέσοι: Menelaus is wounded by the arrow, but not dangerously (*Il.* 4.139 ἀκρότατον δ' ἄρ' ὀιστὸς ἐπέγραψε χροά φωτός). ἐπιεσάγει τῷ παραδείγματι 'introduces into the comparison' (Harmon). ἐκόσμησεν . . . καλῶν: Homer dignified the flies, calling them (καλῶν) by a characteristic epithet and speaking of them in human terms (ἔθνη). The reference is to *Il.* 2.469, quoted above.

6 τῆς αὐτῆς προνομαίαι: 3 προβοσκίδι and προνομεύει nn. This is another humorous touch: the fly's 'trunk', i.e. proboscis, can wound even an elephant. Pliny describes how the elephant is troubled by flies (*NH* 8.30), and an Aesopic fable tells how the gnat can cause the death of an elephant (210 Chambry). κατὰ λόγον τοῦ μεγέθους 'in proportion to its size' (i.e. it makes only a small wound): LSJ λόγος 11.1. μίξεως . . . διαφθείρουσαι: the sexual prowess of flies, a humorously conceived ἀρετή. Their lengthy copulation is vouched for by Aristotle (*HA* 542a8 9). ἐπιβάς 'having mounted <the female>': LSJ 1.11.3. ἀπεπήδησεν: 'gnomic' aorist, expressing a general truth: *GMT* §155. ἐπὶ πολὺ 'for a long time' (as in the next sentence), or perhaps 'for a great distance': LSJ πολὺς 14.4.a, b. τῇ πτήσει μὴ διαφθείρουσαι 'not spoiling their aerial intercourse by their flight'. When spoken of as a pair, they are described by the natural gender of the word 'fly'. On μή for οὐ see p. 6. ἀποτμηθεῖσα . . . ἐστίν: this, too, is vouched for by Aristotle (*HA* 531b30 1, *PA* 682b29-31, *Parv. Nat.* 468a23 7). Headless survival leads to the next topic, immortality.

7 Πλάτων: that Plato in his discussion of the immortality of the soul in the *Phaedo* should be thought guilty of the important omission of the subject of flies is another humorous touch. Socrates does there refer to various creatures, including bees, wasps and ants, in his speculations about reincarnation and metempsychosis (81e–82b). τέφρας ἐπιχυθείσης ἀνίσταται: Aristotle (*Parv. Nat.* 475b3–5) and Aelian (*NA* 2.29) say that it is a *drowned* fly that can be revived by the sprinkling of ash. ὥς = ὥστε. πεπεισθαι ‘believe’: LSJ πείθω B.IV. κἀκείνων: their souls <as well as ours>. ἐπανέρχεται: *Dream* 18 ἐπανελήλυθα n. γνωρίζει ‘recognises’, ‘becomes reacquainted with’: LSJ II.2. τὸν περὶ Ἑρμοτίμου τοῦ Κλαζομενίου μῦθον: Hermotimus of Clazomenae was a figure probably well known from works relating wonders and marvels (paradoxography). His soul was said to have left his body each night, and to have brought back news and prophecies from distant places. It does not suit Lucian’s argument to mention the dénouement: his enemies one night prevented his ‘rebirth’ by burning his body while the soul was absent. The tale is mentioned by, amongst others, Pliny (*NH* 7.174): Waszink on Tert. *De anim.* 44. ἀνίστα: cf. ἀνίσταται above of the fly’s rebirth.

8 The fly has a life of idle indulgence. Like those who parasitically batten on to a rich man and eat at his expense, it moves in high social circles and dines out regularly. ἄργος . . . αὐτὴ καὶ ἀνετος οὔσα ‘idle and free from labour herself, she . . .’: αὐτὴ contrasts with τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πονοῦμενα. The word ἀνετος is used ‘esp. of men and animals dedicated to a god’: LSJ 2. πλήρης: sc. ἐστί, ‘there is’. καὶ ἀνθρώποις: the point seems to be that they produce honey not only for humans (who tend them) but also for opportunistic flies; but ‘not least for flies and humans’ is an unexpected way of expressing this idea. προγεύεται: a reference to the προγεύστης, Lat. *praegustator*, who tasted the emperor’s food and drink for seasoning and as a precaution against poisoning. ταῖς τραπέζαις ἐμπεριπατοῦσα: used of a human this would mean ‘walking about among the tables’ (cf. *Symp.* 13 ἐμπεριπατῶν . . . τῷ συμποσίῳ), but the fly walks *on* the tables.

9 κατεστήσατο: gnomic aorist: 8 ὅπεπῃδησεν n. κατὰ τοὺς Σκύθας: nomads of admirable independence (cf. Lucian’s *Anacharsis*, *Toxaris* and *Scythian*). ἐπανηρημένη ‘entering into’, ‘being employed in’, from ἐπαναίρομαι. καταληφθεῖσα ‘overtaken’: LSJ καταλαμβάνω I.2, II.1. ὥς ἔφην: in the final sentence of §4. οὐδὲ . . . ἀξιοῖ αὐτὴν ‘she does not think it right to hide her activities, nor does she deem it necessary to do anything shameful <at night> which would disgrace her if done in the light of day’. The joke is that since flies are shameless in the daytime nothing remains for them to do in secret at night; in this attitude the fly is a Cynic: see pp. 9–10. For ἡγέομαι + infin. without δεῖν = ‘think fit’ see LSJ III.4. The final circumflex shows that αἰσχυνεῖ is future (vivid future in indirect speech).

10 For added distinction the fly is equipped with its own aetiological myth; this is standard practice in encomia. Myia was a rival with Selene for the love of Endymion, whom she annoyed by pestering him when he wanted to sleep. Selene turned her into a fly, which continues to trouble sleepers because of its desire to taste beauty. The story is not attested elsewhere, and is almost certainly invented by Lucian. It has some features in common with Plato’s myth of the cicadas (*Phaedrus* 259c) and Ovid’s story of Arachne (*Met.* 6.5–145). τὸ ἀρχαῖον ‘in olden times’. λάλον . . . στωμύλον . . . ὠιδικὴν: characteristics which will be metamorphosed into the fly’s buzz. For ὠιδικὴν cf. 2 μετ’ ὠιδῆς πέτεσθαι, 4 αἶδει. ἀντερασθῆναι ‘was a rival in love’ (for the form see LSJ ἔραμαι). Selene fell in love with Endymion when she saw him asleep on Mt Latmus in Caria. One version of the story tells how, having been granted a wish by her, he chose to sleep for ever, immortal and unageing (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7.5). Myia’s keeping him awake is a humorous antithesis of this aspect. ἐρεσχλοῦσα ‘pestering him’. κωμάζουσα ἐπ’ αὐτόν ‘serenading him’. εἰς τοῦτο ‘into this state’ a fly. διὰ τοῦτο ‘for this reason’. ὥς . . . δυνατὸν ‘as much as she can’. ἀπολαύει ‘she gets satisfaction’. For the intransitive use see LSJ I.4.

11 Lucian touches lightly on real people called Myia, and on the subject of flies in comedy, tragedy and philosophy. This section displays another aspect of the sophist’s learning: he is familiar with the literature and history of Attica. ποιήτρια: the Boeotian lyric poetess Corinna had the nickname Myia according to the Suda lexicon (κ2087). For her fragments see Campbell (1992) 18–69. ἡ Μυῖα δ’ ἔδακνεν αὐτὸν ἄχρι τῆς καρδίας: context and author are unknown (adscsp. 459 K A). The imperfect tense tells against a love-bite; probably ἔδακνεν referred to his falling in love. Lucian several times quotes lost comic plays; cf. *A Literary Prometheus* 2, *Book-collector* 27. For the metaphor of the biting pangs of love see LSJ δάκνω III. δεινὸν . . . δόρυ: cf. *Il.* 17.570–2 (quoted on §5), and for ἀλκίμωι σθένει the description of wasps attacking a wayfarer at *Il.* 16.264 ἄλκιμον ἦτορ ἔχοντες. The author and context of this quotation, too, are unknown (*TrGF* 295; see further Gargiulo (2003)). δεινόν: sc. ἐστί. φόνου ‘blood’, a meaning rare in prose: LSJ I.4. Μυίας τῆς Πυθαγορικῆς: Myia is mentioned as a daughter of Pythagoras in several sources (e.g. Suda π3120). εἰ μὴ γνώριμος ἦν ἅπασιν: a teasing *praeteritio*: it is unlikely that much detail about her would be familiar to Lucian’s audience (or even perhaps to himself), but he affects to flatter them by claiming that it is not necessary to recount the facts.

12 On the στρατιωτὶς, a particularly powerful fly. Its identity is discussed by Beavis (1988) 220; it may have been so named from its army-like swarms, or from its frequenting military camps (cf. Thphr. fr. 174.1). Its alternative name κύων suggests κυνάμνις, a term used as an insult in Homer for a person who combines the qualities of two shameless creatures (*Il.* 21.394, 421), but which came

to be identified with a particular species of fly: see Beavis (1988) 238, Davies-Kathirithamby (1986) 155 7. τοῦ χειμῶνος ὄλου . . . διακαρτεροῦσιν 'they hibernate'. ὑπεπτηχῦται: cf. §4 fin. ἐφ' ὧν 'in regard to which . . .': LSJ ἐπί A.I.2.f. ἀμφότερα . . . δρῶσιν 'they perform both sexual functions'. βαινόμενοι καὶ βαίνουντες: cf. 6 ἐπιβάς n., LSJ βαίνω A.II.1. There may be a pun on βινούμενοι . . . βινούντες. τὸν Ἑρμοῦ . . . κάλλος: Hermaphroditus, a popular subject in Greek and Roman art (*LIMC* v 1.268–85, 2.190–8). A version of the story is told by Ovid at *Met.* 4.276–388. S/he had male and female genitals (μικτὸν τὴν φύσιν) and the physical attractions of both man and woman (διττὸν τὸ κάλλος). πολλὰ δ' ἔτι ἔχων εἰπεῖν καταπαύσω τὸν λόγον: the sophist has a vast armoury of knowledge but is master also of what is appropriate to the situation: unlike the mythical Myia (10), he knows when to stop talking. κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἐλέφαντα ἐκ μυίας ποιεῖν: in literature the proverb occurs only here, and it may be fictitious. The proverb-collector Zenobius may have in mind the present passage when he says it is used 'of those who exaggerate and magnify insignificant things' (*CPG* 1 74). It neatly resumes the elephant theme (§3 the fly's proboscis is like an elephant's; §6 it can wound even an elephant), demonstrates Lucian's awareness that his subject is after all an unimportant one, and alludes to the mega-fly of the final paragraph, which by virtue of its longevity, sexual self-sufficiency and similarity to a god might be thought to have taken the topic too far from its origin as a piece of light entomological entertainment.

# V SIGMA VS TAU: THE COURT OF THE VOWELS

This brief and entertaining piece reflects the controversy over whether such words as θάλαττα, μέλιττα and φυλάττω should be spelt with σσ or ττ. The scene is an Athenian court of law, the occasion a dispute between neighbours (7 γειτόνων). Sigma prosecutes Tau for 'assault and theft of his belongings' (1) with the seven vowels as jury. He uses techniques of persuasion familiar from Greek oratory: the claim that he is an unwilling litigant and that his good reputation is common knowledge (2); the warning that his opponent's actions constitute a danger to society in general, that it is the jury's solemn duty to ward off that danger, and that acquittal will provide a most dangerous precedent (3); an artlessly constructed account (διήγησις) of the episode which caused the trouble (7); and the appeal to witnesses who will testify to his good faith (9). Tau meanwhile is characterised as a violent, predatory and rapacious disturber of the natural order of things, an aggressive usurper, a piratical adventurer, a brazen thief whose depredations if left unchecked will lead to confusion of thought, general lawlessness, disease, and the breakdown of civic life. The order of letters in the alphabet is equated with civic order, and disturbance of normal spelling with disturbance of the peace. Personification of the letters makes possible a transference of the slanderous accusations common in Greek courts of law to the austere subject of spelling conventions; austere but not uncontroversial, since the spelling in ττ, a feature of older Attic dialect which gave way to σσ in the fourth century BC, was in Lucian's time affected by Atticising writers (see pp. 4, 6), as were ρρ for ρσ and ξύν for σύν (9). *Sigma vs Tau* therefore alludes humorously to a subject of continuing debate which provoked the passions of grammarians and exercised all who wrote literary Greek in the Second Sophistic.

By treating the most obvious and unavoidable symptom of Atticism the work reflects anxieties about linguistic usage; but, as is the case with Lucian's engagement with the philosophical schools, no positive view emerges. In the rest of his works Lucian consistently employs ττ (though in other respects he is not among the stricter Atticists), but here he has Sigma represent that very feature as threateningly novel. Later, in a movement similar to that at the end of *The Fly*, *A Literary Prometheus* and *Timon*, Sigma moves on to more miscellaneous subject matter and lists phonological changes which seem to illustrate Tau's predatory nature but which do not contribute to a coherent Atticist or anti-Atticist argument.

There are elements of theme and structure common to other works by Lucian. Four pieces deal with linguistic usage: in the dialogue *The Pseudosophist* Lucian teases a professed expert by challenging him to detect faulty Greek as they speak; in *A Slip in Greeting* he apologises at length for using the wrong form of salutation to a friend; in *The Pseudologist* he makes a savage attack on a male prostitute who is ignorant of the word ἔμπορος; and in *Lexiphanes* an interlocutor stuffs his conversation with incomprehensible Atticisms. Personifications abound in Lucian

(e.g. Sculpture and Culture in *The Dream*, Wealth, Poverty and Treasure in *Timon*), and Callias' alphabet comedy, in which the 24 chorus members were personified letters, need not have been his inspiration for Sigma and Tau (Callias T 7 K. A = Athen. 276a). Law-court scenes and ingenious rhetorical debates, too, are not uncommon in Lucian: see p. 107 on *The Dream* and *Twice Accused*; others include *Assembly of the Gods*, *Zeus Cross-questioned* and *The Fisherman*. As usual, Lucian has combined familiar elements to produce a witty novelty.

The letter sigma seems to have been especially controversial (Athen. 455c-d, Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 14). Euripides was criticised for excessive use of the sound (Page on *Medea* 476-7), the lyric poet Lasus composed ὠδοὶ ἄσιγμοι (*PMG* 702, 704), and fragments exist of at least one asigmatic tragedy or satyr-play (adesp. *TrGF* 655 Sn.). If the tragedy was a rewriting of an existing work rather than an original composition, it would be akin to the lipogrammatic versions of Homer by Nestor of Laranda and Triphiodorus (3rd cent. AD), who respectively refashioned the 24 books of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* so that the first had no alphas, the second no betas, and so forth. But Lucian's Sigma seems not to fear ingenious productions of this sort.

It should be mentioned that some have judged the piece not to be by Lucian on the basis of the *koine* forms ἤρχετο (imperf. of ἔρχομαι) and ὀραθῆναι, which occur nowhere else in his works. But the ingenuity and humour of the piece seem characteristically Lucianic.

### Bibliography

Text: Macleod (OCT) 1139-43, Bompaigne 1177-86. Translation: Harmon 1395-409. The ττ/σσ debate: Horrocks (1997) 83. Lucian's usage: Deferrari (1916) 1-4. Callias: Bompaigne 1174. Authenticity: Deferrari (1916) 66 n. 24, 71 n. 63, 78.

**1** The Charge. These words are to be imagined as read out by the clerk of the court (γραμματεὺς). Some scholars consider them a later addition, but although they do not appear in all manuscripts their humour and learning seem Lucianic enough. The reference to ττ does not completely summarise Sigma's case, but most of the words about which he will complain do involve the double consonant. Mock resolutions (ψηφίσματα) couched in official language are used by Lucian at *Menippus* 20 and *Assembly of the Gods* 14-18. ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀριστάρχου Φαληρέως 'in the archonship of Aristarchus from the deme of Phalerum'. In Classical Athenian inscriptions dates were generally expressed by reference to the name of the archon (chief magistrate) for the year, though his deme was not normally given. Here the name and deme provide a humorous allusion to two scholars who were chief librarians at Alexandria: Demetrius of Phalerum near Athens (born c. 350 BC) was a philosopher and prolific author on literary and other matters (*FGH* F 228), while Aristarchus of Samothrace (c. 216-144 BC), the most famous critic in the ancient world, was renowned for his editions

of Homer and other poets in which he paid particular attention to linguistic minutiae. Both might be thought to have an interest in preserving correct usage and orthography; and in addition the name Ἀριστάρχος is in this context highly appropriate. Πυανεψίωνος ἑβδόμη ἰσταμένου 'on the seventh of Pyanepsion', the fourth month of the Attic calendar (= mid-October-mid-November). Months began with the new moon, and the first ten days were numbered 'on the nth of the waxing month x' (for ἵσταμαι in this sense see LSJ B.III.4). The seventh of Pyanepsion was, however, the day on which the Pyanopsia, a festival of Apollo, was celebrated: Lucian has chosen to set this humorous trial on a day of amusement and entertainments at Athens, when no real trials would have been held (see Mikalson (1975) 19, 30, 68-70, 130; at *Assembly of the Gods* 14 and *Twice Accused* 12 a similar joke has trials held on the seventh). On Attic dating see OCD 273-4. γραφὴν ἔθετο 'brought an action': LSJ γραφή III.2. ἐπὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ Φωνηέντων 'before a court consisting of the Seven Vowels': LSJ ἐπὶ A.I.E. βίας καὶ ὑπαρχόντων ἀρπαγῆς 'for assault and theft of his belongings': LSJ ὑπάρχω B.IV.2. γραφή + gen. is the standard way of expressing the nature of the charge. ἐκφερομένων 'pronounced': LSJ II.9.b.

**2** Sigma's opening remarks. He is not naturally litigious, but he must defend himself against Tau before it is too late. μέχρι 'so long as': LSJ III.2. μέν: *Dream* 1 μέν n. ὑπὸ τουτουί: the -ί form of the demonstrative is commonly used in forensic speeches to point out an adversary present in court. καταχρωμένου 'misusing': LSJ II.3. καταίροντος: the metaphor is of a ship putting into port (LSJ II.2), here with overtones of piratical depredation; cf. προσβιάζεται below. παρήκουον 'I took no notice of', 'pretended not to hear' (LSJ IV.4); cf. ἡσύχασα below. φυλάσσοντα: Lucian generally uses the form φυλάττω (Deferrari (1916) 2); but here Sigma naturally resorts to the σσ form. Throughout the piece there is variation between the masculine and neuter for the personified letters (e.g. λέγον in §1). συλλαβάς: here and in §8 apparently 'letters', though 'syllables' is the usual meaning. οὐκ ἀγαπῶν 'not content': LSJ III.1. καὶ πλείω προσβιάζεται 'uses force even more'. αὐτὸ εὐθύνω 'call him to account', literally 'set him straight': LSJ III.1 4. εὐθυνα is a public examination of conduct in office. ἀμφοτέρα 'us both'. δέος . . . ἐμαυτοῦ 'in addition to this (the lawless behaviour of Tau) I am quite afraid of being squeezed out', sc. from the alphabet. The word-order is less lucid than is normal in Lucian, and the text is uncertain (see app. crit.). ἀποθλίψεως . . . ἀποθλίψει: grammatical terms for the dropping of a letter: he is afraid of being completely elided. τι μείζον is the object of προστιθέν (of which the subject is Tau). τῆς οἰκείας . . . χώρας 'from my proper place': LSJ χώρα I.4. ὀλίγου δεῖν: *Dream* 6 μικροῦ n. ἡσυχίαν ἀγαγόντα: the participle has conditional force: 'if I make no protest'. ἐν ἴσῳ κείσθαι 'be equal to', i.e. be no better than: LSJ ἴσος IV.2. τῷ φόφῳ '<mere> noise' (τῷ = τινι). The manuscripts read τοῦ φόβου here, which is unintelligible, whereas the conjecture φόφῳ yields an allusion to Plato,

*Theaet.* 203b τό τε σῖγμα τῶν ἀφώνων ἐστί, φόφος τις μόνον, οἷον συριπτούσης τῆς γλώσσης.

**3-5** It is the Vowels' duty as jury to maintain the established order of the letters.

**3** οὐχ ὑμᾶς 'not <only> you'. τῆς πείρας 'his enterprise' (LSJ 11): cf. n. on 2 καταίροντος and pirates (πειραταί). ἀπὸ τῆς καθ' αὐτὰ τάξεως 'from its proper order' (= 2 τῆς οἰκείας . . . χώρας), with an allusion to the ordering of letters in the alphabet. καθ' αὐτά is literally 'according to themselves', i.e. 'which they have'. ἐπιτρέψετε 'permit it', 'acquiesce': LSJ 11.1-2. οὐδὲν . . . τι go together: LSJ οὐδεὶς 11.1. αἱ συντάξεις 'the principles of good order', with play on 'syntax' in the grammatical sense of 'rule for combination of sounds or letters' (LSJ 1.4). ἐφ' οἷς ἐτάχθη τὰ κατ' ἀρχάς 'in whose power things were placed in the beginning': LSJ ἐπὶ B.1.g, ἀρχή 1.1.b. The unspecific τὰ can refer either to administrative affairs or to the letters of the alphabet. παροράσεως 'carelessness', 'indifference': cf. 2 παρήκουν, and παραλείπτεον below. τινὰ μὴ δίκαια 'anything unjust'. μὴ is the regular negative for classes or categories (LSJ B.7): cf. 4 ἃ μὴ χρή. καθυφῆσθε τὸν ἀγῶνα: a legal expression (Dem. 21.151, al.) for collusion between prosecution and defence in deliberately mismanaging a case.

**4** ἀνεκόπησαν 'had been checked' (aor. pass.). There may be a continuation of the piratical imagery (1 καταίροντος, 2 πείρας nn.), since ἀνακόπτω is used of checking the course of a ship (LSJ 1.3). εὐθύς ἀρξαμένων παρανομεῖν 'as soon as they began to act illegally'. For εὐθύς + participle = 'at the very moment that . . .' see LSJ B.11.1. The following οὐκ ἂν ἐπολέμει suggests that here Lucian alludes to the opening sentence of Thucydides' *Histories*, Θουκυδίδης . . . ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον . . . ἀρξάμενος εὐθύς καθισταμένου (sc. τοῦ πολέμου): the present conflict is no less momentous than the Peloponnesian War. κισήρεως 'pumice', spelt κισήλις in an inscription of the fourth century BC and in papyri (LSJ and LSJ Suppl. s.v.), and no doubt also in Classical authors known to Lucian. κεφαλαργίας 'headache', from κεφαλή and ἄλγος. Since ἄλγος is never found in the form ἄργος, it is likely that the change arose from the difficulty of pronouncing αλαλ. ἐς χείρας . . . ἤρχετο 'came to blows'. The imperfect of ἔρχομαι is rare in Classical Attic, perhaps because of possible confusion with the imperfect of ἄρχομαι; but in the time of Lucian it is commonly found. See p. 152. ἐν τῷ γναφείῳ ὑπὲρ γναφάλλων: their argument took place 'in the wool-carder's shop over cushions'. These alternative spellings are well attested (LSJ κνάπτω, κναφεῖον, κναφεύς, κνέφαλλον; the κν forms are older). κνάπτω/γνάπτω is to comb wool, and the bits left over from this process were used to stuff cushions and pillows. μόλις: the form μόγις is Homeric; μόλις is in tragedy and Attic prose. In Lucian's time both forms seem to have been in use. καὶ μάλιστα

παρακλέπτον: the structure of the sentence might suggest that these words are in series with τὸ μόλις ἀφαιρούμενον; in that case, μάλιστα would stand for a stolen μέγιστα (the form μάγιστα is not attested). Otherwise either one should translate 'removing and actually filching his μόλις', or the text is corrupt (μὰ Δία has been suggested for μάλιστα). τὰ λοιπά: sc. γράμματα. ἂν ἤρεμι . . . ἀρχεσθαι 'would have refrained from starting . . .'. ἤρεμέω seems not to be found with an infinitive elsewhere in Greek literature. συγχύσεως 'confusion' (from *con-fundere*, like συγ-χεῖν), here specifically of political disturbance (ἤρεμαῖος, too, can be used of a populace being 'quiet'), but probably with an allusion to the grammatical meaning, 'indistinctness of composition' (LSJ 1.1.a, 3): confusion or substitution of letters can lead to confusion of thought and understanding, καλὸν γάρ: sc. ἐστί. λύοντός ἐστί τὸ δίκαιον 'is the act of a lawbreaker' (Harmon): LSJ λύω 11.5.

**5** διατυπώσας 'gave form to'; but the word is also applicable to the actual forming of letters. Κάδμος . . . Παλαμήδης . . . Σιμωνίδης: although several myths existed about the origins of the alphabet, Cadmus was commonly thought to have imported sixteen Phoenician letters which the Greeks adapted to their sound-system (cf. Hdt. 5.58.1 2), and Palamedes and Simonides to have added four each (Pliny, *NH* 7.192, Tac. *Ann.* 11.14; cf. *OCD* 66). Cadmus, from the Phoenician island of Tyre (hence ὁ νησιώτης) was the mythical founder of Boeotian Thebes. Palamedes, son of Nauplius, took part in the Trojan expedition but was executed as a result of a false charge of treason devised by Odysseus (Apollod. *Epit.* 3.8); he was notably ingenious, and as well as the new letters (possibly ΗΨΦΧ, but Pliny's text is uncertain) he invented draughts and dice as pastimes for the soldiers (Paus. 2.20.3, 10.31.1) as well as many other useful things (Philost. *Her.* 10). In the *Palamedes* of Euripides he was said to be the sole inventor of the alphabet (*TrGF* 578 K.). Simonides of Ceos (c. 556-466 BC) was a lyric poet. Considerable fragments of his work survive (Campbell (1991) 330-591, West (1992) 114-37). Famously ingenious, he invented the art of mnemonics as well as the letters Η(?)ΞΨΩ. τὴν προμήθειαν ταύτην 'this provision' (Harmon). The word really means 'forethought', and is unexpected in this context. Probably it is used to give an indirect reference to Prometheus, who was said by some to have invented the alphabet (*Prom. Bound* 460 1). αἱ προεδρίαί 'precedence' (cf. *Dream* 11 προεδρίας n.), with another reference to the established positions of the letters. ποιότητας 'qualities'. The word was coined by Plato (*Theaet.* 182a) and came into general use in philosophy and grammatical works, but it appears only here in Lucian. δυνάμεις: δύναμις is used in grammatical writings of 'the phonetic value of sounds or letters' (LSJ 11.1.b). συνεῖδον 'were conscious of'. καθ' αὐτά 'by yourselves' (contrast §3, where the meaning is less obvious). ἡμιφώνοις 'the semi-vowels' or letters pronounceable without a vowel, listed by ancient grammarians as ζξψλμνρσ: cf. Plato, *Philebus* 18b c, Arist. *Poetics* 1456b24-34, Allen (1987) 19, 23. (The English so-called semi-vowels

*y* and *w* are unrelated to these.) τὴν ἐφεξῆς 'the next highest' (sc. τιμήν). προσθήκης εἰς τὸ ἀκουσθῆναι δεῖται 'there is a need of contact for them to be heard' (LSJ δειῖν). προσθήκη and προσβολή are technical terms for the contact of tongue, teeth or lips in pronouncing a sound. For this whole passage cf. Arist. *Poetics* 1456b26 31 ἔστιν δὲ ταῦτα φωνῆεν μὲν τὸ ἄνεν προσβολῆς ἔχον φωνὴν ἀκουστήν, ἡμίφωνον δὲ τὸ μετὰ προσβολῆς ἔχον φωνὴν ἀκουστήν, οἷον τὸ Σ καὶ Ρ, ἄφωνον δὲ τὸ μετὰ προσβολῆς καθ' αὐτὸ μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἔχον φωνήν, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἔχόντων τινὰ φωνὴν γινόμενον ἀκουστόν, οἷον τὸ Γ καὶ τὸ Δ, 'A vowel is a sound audible without any contact of the tongue; a semi-vowel is a sound audible with contact (*s* and *r*, for example); and a stop is a sound which with contact produces no sound by itself, but does produce one when joined with the sounds which do so (*g* and *d*, for example)'. ἐννέα τῶν πάντων 'nine out of the total number'. οἷς οὐδὲ φωνὴ πρόσσεστι καθ' αὐτά 'which by themselves do not even have a sound': the ἄφωνα or 'mutes' (βδγπκτθφχ).

6 After having concluded his general remarks, Sigma addresses the case in hand. τὸ δὲ γε Ταῦ τοῦτο: indignant repetition of the τ-sound recurs throughout the piece: Tau is turned against himself. οὐ γὰρ ἔχω . . . καλεῖται: Sigma seems to be referring to the hideous shape of Tau as σταυρός. The point is made more explicitly in §12. καθήκοντες ὁραθῆναι 'fit to be seen', whereas Tau because of his ill-omened appearance is not fit to be seen in public; or, in phonological terms, he needs assistance from vowels before he can exist at all, being ἄφωνον. Personification of the subjects, which are grammatically neuter, results in the adjective (ἀγαθοί) and participle being masculine. The regularly formed aor. pass. of ὁράω seems to be found first in Aristotle; Classical Attic used ὀφθῆναι (see LSJ). See p. 152. οὐκ ἂν ἠκούσθῃ μόνον: the meaning is presumably 'would not have been so much as heard', but μόνον is unusual here. τοῖσιν: resumptive: LSJ 3.b, GP 575. τῶν πώποτε βιασαμένων: probably 'all injuries that I have ever known' (Fowlers), with reference to the list of minor offences given in §2, rather than the more general 'beyond all precedent' (Harmon). ἀπελάσαν . . . ἐκδιώξαν: neuter aorist participles. πατρῴων 'hereditary'. Sigma speaks as if the legal case is one of disputed inheritance. συνδέσμων . . . καὶ προθέσεων 'conjunctions and prepositions'; also 'bond of union' and 'goodwill', continuing the ambiguity of grammatical and social terms. But what prepositions and conjunctions are meant is not clear (ξύν for σύν is mentioned in §9, but τ is not involved). ἔκτοπον 'extraordinary'.

7 The word ποτέ signals the start of Sigma's narrative (διήγησις) of the origins of his dispute. In law-court speeches such narratives typically come after the prooemium. He and Rho were on a visit to Attica. They stayed with the comic poet Lysimachus, and at his house they encountered the dastardly Tau. Sigma depicts himself as an unsuspecting tourist robbed by a fellow-guest. Κυβέλωι: not otherwise known. ἄποικον . . . Ἀθηναίων: clearly Tau became

emboldened by his surroundings. ὥς ἐπέχει λόγος 'as the story goes'. ἐπηγόμην 'I invited': LSJ 1.4, 11.2, Hdt. 6.34.2 οἰκιστὴν ἐπάγεισθαι, 'invite to settle'. γειτόνων τὸ βέλτιστον: because neighbour to Sigma in the alphabet. Tau is implied to be γειτόνων τὸ κάκιστον. κατηγομην 'I lodged': LSJ 1.4.b. καταγωγή is an inn or lodging-house. Λυσίμαχος: not otherwise known. His being a comic poet suits the amusing episode that follows. Βοιωτίας . . . Ἀττικῆς 'apparently a Boeotian in origin, but one who thought fit to be called from the heart of Attica': though not originally from Attica he claimed to be Attic through and through. Sigma should have expected to be in danger here, since τ is a feature of Boeotian dialect (δίδωτι for δίδωσι, μέττος for μέσος, ἴττω for ἴστω, etc.: Buck (1955) 152 3), and ττ for σσ is characteristic of Attic writers such as Thucydides who were imitated by later Atticists. In Lucian's time the local dialects had largely died out, but his readers were familiar with them from Aristophanes and other comic poets; a Boeotian appears, for example, in *Acharnians* (860 909). μέχρι . . . αὐτοῖς: the passage is corrupt, and of the remedies so far suggested none has restored clarity. The text printed here is Macleod's, and it may be translated, 'so long as he made his assaults on a few words, daring to say τέτταρα and τετταράκοντα, and besides, dragging to himself τήμερον and similar words to call these his own, depriving me of the words (or 'letters') I was brought up with, I thought this was the customary behaviour of letters reared together, and I could bear to hear it, and these things did not annoy me too much'. It is clear that all is not well in this sentence. A confusing catalogue of suggested emendations is given in the edition of Bompair. κατατολμών: neuter participle, in series with ἐπισπώμενον and ἀποστεροῦν.

8 καττίτερον . . . καὶ κάττυμα καὶ πίτταν 'tin, shoe-soles and pitch'. ἀπερυθρίασαν: neuter participle: 'quite shamelessly'. βασιλίτταν: this form in ττ is not attested (βασιλίττα is the title of the wife of the Archon Basileus at Demosth. 59.74). βασιλίσσα is said by Phrynichus (§§202 3), an expert on Atticism, not to have been used by 'proper' Attic writers, who used βασιλεία or βασιλῆς; but Sigma is concerned only with his own proprietorship, not with Atticism in general. πίμπραμαι: vivid present tense, 'I became hot with anger'; cf. *A Voyage to the Underworld* 12 ἐγὼ δὲ ἐνεπιμπράμην. σῦκα τῦκα: unlike the other controversial words, τῦκα is a specifically Boeotian form (Strattis fr. 49.5 K. A). Sigma alludes to the proverb τὰ σῦκα σῦκα λέγειν (cf. *How to Write History* 41 τὰ σῦκα σῦκα, τὴν σκάφην σκάφην ὀνομάσων, 'calling a fig a fig and a spade a spade'), and wittily implies that Tau is an enemy of truth and free speech: 'he won't give a fig for the truth'. μεμονωμένωι τῶν βοηθησόντων: an appeal to the jury's pity, standard plaintiff's language. οὐ γὰρ περὶ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ τυχόντα ἐστὶν ὁ κίνδυνος: there is a distant echo of the Iliadic passage in which Achilles pursues Hector: οὐχ ἱερὴιον οὐδὲ βοεῖην ἢ ἀρνύσθην . . . ἢ ἄλλα περὶ ψυχῆς θέον Ἐκτορος ἵπποδάμοιο (*Il.* 22.159 61). For Sigma this is a life-or-death struggle. συνησχολακότων μοι 'my old schoolfellows' (from συσχολάζω).



κίσσαν μου, λάλον ὄρνειον: jays, being notable mimics, were kept as pets (Plut. *De sollert. anim.* 19.5–8; the Linnaean name is *Garrulus glandarius*). ἐκ μέσων, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τῶν κόλπων: cf. Lesbia's pet sparrow: *nec sese a gremio illius mouebat* (Cat. 3.8); and for the proverbial expression ἐκ κόλπων = 'right from under one's nose' see Headlam on Herondas 6.102. φάσαν . . . νήσσαις . . . κοσσύφοις 'doves, ducks, blackbirds'. Sigma is, it seems, a bird-fancier whose entire stock has been stolen. ἀπαγορεύοντος Ἀριστάρχου 'though Aristarchus himself forbade it': see 1 ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος . . . n. περισπάσε 'filched': LSJ III.4. ἐκ μέσης αὐτῆς . . . Ὑμησσόν: cf. §7 above. Mention of bees leads him naturally to Mt Hymettus, a few miles east of Athens, which was famous for its honey ( *OCD* 735, Diggle on Thphr. *Char.* 5.8). Tau's influence reaches the very heart of Attica. ἦλθεν and ἀνῆρπασεν suggest a daring military operation or raiding party. ὀρώντων ὕμων: the words combine reproach ('while you looked on') with further reference to Tau's shamelessness ('in broad daylight').

9 τί λέγω ταῦτα; i.e. what I have mentioned so far are minor matters. Θεσσαλίας με ἐξέβαλεν ὀλης: the replacement of sigma by tau is described in terms of a territorial loss in war. ἀξιούν: participle. πᾶσαν ἀποκέκλειέ μοι τὴν θάλασσαν: Tau has established an exclusion zone over the whole sea. οὐδὲ τῶν ἐν κήποις φεισάμενον σευτλίων: Sigma concludes with Aristophanic bathos: he has been defeated on land, excluded from the sea, and lost – his beet-root. The τεῦτλον vs σεῦτλον debate seems to have been topical in New Comedy, and three extant fragments allude to it (Alexis fr. 146.5 7 K A; Diphilus fr. 46 K–A; Euphro fr. 3 K A). τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον 'as indeed the saying goes': LSJ λέγω III.10. μηδὲ πᾶσσαλόν μοι καταλιπεῖν 'he hasn't left me even a peg' (because it is now πᾶτταλος). This proverbial phrase is found in Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* (284), where 'peg' stands for something worthless. Here the joke may be that Sigma cannot even hang himself, having nowhere even to attach a noose. ὅτι δὲ ἀνεξικάκον εἰμι γράμμα . . . : Sigma has twice already drawn attention to his forbearing nature (2 οὐ βαρέως ἔφερον τὴν βλάβην κτλ., 7 οἷστον ἦν μοι τὸ ἄκουσμα καὶ οὐ πάνν τι ἐδρακνόμεν). It is typical for prosecutors to emphasise that they are not naturally litigious, but that they have been driven by extreme provocation to come to court. Here, as he begins a new section of his speech, Sigma uses that conventional idea to broaden the discussion to other letter substitutions. καὶ αὐτοὶ 'you, too' (as well as myself). σμάραγδον . . . Σμύρναν: spellings in ζμ- are attested in inscriptions: LSJ σμάραγδος, *Suppl.* σμαράγδιον. ἀποσπᾶσαντι . . . ἀφελομένωι: imagery implying a jewel-thief and an invader. πᾶσαν παραβάντι συνθήκην: again Sigma characterises linguistic features as disruptions of the accepted order of things. ἔχοντι Θουκυδίδην σύμμαχον: ξύν for σύν occurs in epic but is a feature particularly of Attic dialect. Early prose writers used the Ionic σύν, but Thucydides is noteworthy for using his native ξύν. Sigma argues that σύν is the original form, and that Thucydides is an innovator. He pointedly has four συν- compounds in quick succession (συνθήκην,

συγγραφέα, σύμμαχον, συγγνώμη). συγγνώμη ἐστὶ 'I forgive him for . . .'. Sigma uses the σύν form to reinforce the previous point. μυρσίνας . . . κόρη: the forms in ρρ are Attic, those in ρσ epic/Ionic. ὑπὸ μελαγχολίας: causeless anger was one of the symptoms of 'melancholy' (a surfeit of black bile).

10 Other crimes of Tau: an opportunity for further phonological humour. πρὸς τὰ λοιπά: sc. τῶν γραμμάτων. κάλει 'call as witnesses'. Sigma next gives a brief summary of their evidence. ἀφείλετό μου τὴν ἐντελέχειαν, ἐντελέχειαν ἀξιούν λέγεσθαι 'he has taken away my consistency, claiming it should be called "activity"'. These are distinct words, ἐντελέχεια being a technical term of Aristotelian philosophy. They are often confused in manuscripts. Neither occurs elsewhere in Lucian. τὰς τρίχας τίλλοντος 'tearing his hair out' because θρίξ has lost its initial letter except in the nominative. In fact there never were such aspirated forms. τῆς κολοκύνθης 'his gourd'. The Attic form is said to be κολοκύντη (Phryn. §401). τοῦ Ζήτα: sc. λέγοντος ἀφελέσθαι. τὸ συρίζειν καὶ σαλπίζειν: the ττ-forms are said to be Attic; and συρίττω occurs in the passage of Plato's *Theaetetus* in which the pronunciation of sigma is discussed (203b, quoted in 2 τῶι ψόφῳ n.). μηδὲ γρύζειν: οὐδέ/μηδὲ γρύ was a colloquial expression for 'not a syllable'. Zeta has been robbed of whistling and trumpeting, and is reduced to silence. γρύζειν is a humorous extension of the joke: γρύττειν probably did not exist. τίς ἂν τούτων ἀνάσχοιτο; 'Who would put up with this?' ἀνάσχοιτο marks by ring-composition the end of the section of argument which began with ἀνεξικάκον εἰμι (9 med.). For ἀνέχομαι + gen. see LSJ C.II.3. πρὸς τὸ πονηρότατον τοῦτο Ταῦ: impressively contemptuous alliteration; cf. 12 ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου καὶ τῶι τεχνήματι τῶι πονηρῶι τὴν πονηρὰν ἐπωθυμίαν συνελθεῖν.

11 τὸ δέ: sc. Ταῦ. μεταξύ 'meanwhile', 'as I was speaking'. κατ' εὐθὺ φέρεσθαι ταῖς γλώσσαις 'to pronounce their words properly', literally 'to go straight with their tongues' (LSJ φέρω B.I.1). πάλιν 'in turn': LSJ III. ἀνέμνησε: the subject is τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα. τὸ μέρος: either 'for my part' or (perhaps more likely) 'on his part', i.e. 'in so far as he could'. For the latter use cf. *The Tyrannicide* 7 τοῦ ξίφους . . . τὸ μέρος συντετυραννοκτονηκότος and LSJ μέρος III.2. γλώτταν ποιεῖ τὴν γλώσσαν: with a secondary meaning 'he has turned γλώσσα into an obsolete word', since γλώσσα ('gloss', whence 'glossary') is a grammatical term for a rare, foreign or unfamiliar expression (LSJ II.2). γλώσσης . . . νόσημα: ἀληθῶς, 'all too truly', suggests that these words are a quotation; probably they are from a lost tragedy. There may be a reference also to the word γλωσσαλγία, which however means not a physical disease of the tongue, but garrulity or idle talk (*Lexiph.* 19). ἐκέينو: Tau. συναγορεύσω: the verb seems to be used here like συμβουλεύσω, 'advise', a meaning not recorded for it in LSJ. Lucian several times has the future form



ἀγορεύσω, though Classical Attic used ἔρῳ. σπαράττειν: Sigma might be expected to say σπαράσσειν (cf. 2 φυλάσσοντα n.), but he enacts Tau's verbal deformation by using the deformed form for that very action. ὁ μὲν: sc. ἄνθρωπος. τὸ δέ: sc. Ταῦ. τάλόν: Tau insists on being placed first (προεδρία) on all occasions; but the joke is otherwise obscure, since there is no adjective τάλός (and the proper name Talos seems irrelevant here). Some manuscripts have τάλαν, 'miserable', which would make a good contrast in sense with καλόν; but Tau can hardly enforce a change of ο to α. τλήμα: a 'wretched' pronunciation results in τλήμα, a wretched word which, if it existed, would mean 'wretchedness'. It does, however, resemble real words (e.g. τμήμα, τόλμημα) more closely than did τάλον. τοὺς τυχόντας 'ordinary people': LSJ A.2.b. τῶι μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ: a traditional phrase for the King of Persia used by Herodotus and others. ὧι καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν εἰξάει φασί: Xerxes bridged the Hellespont and cut a canal through the Mt Athos promontory, turning sea into land and land into sea. He is not named here, since the joke will depend on the name of another Great King, Cyrus. τὸ δέ: resumptive. καὶ τοῦτω ἐπιβουλεύει: a metaphor of treasonous machination: his plot is to convert the king into cheese!

12 Tau is loathed by mankind because his shape inspired crucifixion. ὅσον ἐξ φωνῆν 'as far as their speech is concerned' (Harmon): LSJ ὅσος IV.1.a. The usual contrast would be λόγῳ and ἔργῳ, slander vs bodily harm; but here the verbal damage is done not by, but to, speech. Κάδμῳ: §5 Κάδμος n. τοὺς τυράννους: the cruel punishment of crucifixion, common for criminals in the Roman Empire, seems to have been rarely used in Classical Greece. Lucian probably alludes here to Plato, *Gorgias* 473c ἐὰν ἀδικῶν ἄνθρωπος ληφθῇ, τυραννίδι ἐπιβουλεύων, . . . τὸ ἔσχατον ἀνασταυρωθῇ . . . ἀκολουθήσαντας 'guided by': LSJ II.1. σχήματι τοιούτῳ: the word σταυρός could be applied to structures of various shapes, but the T figure seems to have been commonest: D S I 1573-5. τεκτῆναντας agrees with τυράννους; ἀνθρώπους is object of ἀνασκολοπιζειν. τὴν πονηρὰν ἐπωνυμίαν: he refers to the word σTAYρός, conveniently ignoring its initial sigma. ἐς τὴν τοῦ Ταῦ τιμωρίαν: the alliteration turns Tau against himself as it were λόγῳ, just as the suggested method of execution will do ἔργῳ. ὁ δὲ . . . ὀνομάζεται 'since the cross was created in imitation of Tau (ἀπὸ τούτου) but/and is so called by mankind'. For ὁ = 'for which reason' see LSJ ὅς, ἥ, ὁ A.b.IV.2; εἶναι is redundant, as often with verbs of naming (LSJ εἰμί E.2). The point seems to be that in the case of σταυρός there is perfect correspondence between the thing and its name (ἔργον and ὄνομα): the cross is T-shaped because Tau is a repulsive letter, and humans gave the name σταυρός to the cross to incorporate that horror into the name itself. Some editors feel these final words are too contrived and obscure, and delete them as a scribe's effort to explain the preceding clause.

## VI TIMON

A story of divine intervention, buried treasure and sweet revenge, *Timon* is a dramatic dialogue with features reminiscent of folktales and comic plays. The central character is a famous misanthrope. At the beginning of the piece he rails against Zeus for his failure to punish the wicked, and reveals that he is living as a farm labourer, having lost his fortune in extravagant entertainment of flatterers and parasites, who now shun his company. The scene shifts to Olympus. Zeus acknowledges to Hermes that he unjustly neglected Timon and resolves to make him rich again. The god Wealth is summoned, but he proves reluctant to rejoin such a spendthrift. Reassured at last by Zeus after a discussion of how best to deal with money, Wealth is escorted by Hermes to the borders of Attica, where Timon is discovered digging in the company of Poverty, Wisdom and Toil. Poverty, after a brief resistance, retires. Timon is unwilling to accept riches but gives in reluctantly to the will of Zeus. The god Wealth orders Treasure to make himself available, and Timon digs up gold. In spite of his earlier reluctance, he is ecstatic at the sight. He solemnly resolves to live alone in a tower and to shun all society. The remainder of the work shows the results of this resolution: a parasite, a flatterer, an orator and a pseudo-philosopher, friends of Timon in his former life, try to ingratiate themselves and are driven off with blows from his trusty pick.

If Timon was ever a real person, he quickly achieved legendary status. According to Plutarch, he lived at the time of the Peloponnesian War and knew Alcibiades (*Ant.* 70.1); but he must have been dead by 411, since the chorus of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, produced in that year, refer to him in the past tense as an example of misanthropy (808 Τιμων ἦν ἀνιδρυτός τις . . . ; cf. *Birds* 1549). A lonely tower said to have been built by him was seen by Pausanias (42 πυργίον n.). Only Lucian gives his deme and patronymic (7, 50), and these may be his invention or borrowed from a comic poet. Timon was said to have entertained only the like-minded Apemantus (Plut. *Ant.* 70.2), to have made available a convenient fig-tree for citizens wishing to hang themselves (ibid. 70.3), to have died of a gangrenous hip through unwillingness to see a doctor (Neantes, *FGH* 84 F 35), and to have been buried by the sea in a place later made inaccessible by erosion (Plut. *Ant.* 70.4); his tombstone gave no name, and roundly cursed passers-by (ibid.; for other epigrams see below).

Timon and other misanthropes were popular figures in Attic comedy; Antiphanes, for example, wrote a *Timon* (fr. 204 K. A). Lucian may have been familiar with these; almost certainly he knew and used the *Dyscolus* of Menander and the *Wealth* of Aristophanes. For *Dyscolus* see the notes on 6 ἔσχατιάν, 7 σκάπτει . . . , 34 ὕμᾱς . . . and μελαγχολᾶν, 35 οὕτως . . . , 37 φιλοπόνως . . . , 41 τῶι Πανί . . . , 43 ἀνδριάντων . . . . In *Wealth* Chremylus encounters the blind god Wealth and has the god's sight restored at the shrine of Asclepius; the result is that wealth comes only to the deserving; and the closing scenes illustrate the success of the scheme as a series of undeserving characters (an informer, an

amorous old woman and a priest) vainly protest against the new state of affairs. These scenes are similar to those at the end of *Timon*; but they are similar, too, to the conclusions of other Aristophanic plays such as *Peace*, *Acharnians* and *Birds*. There are, however, some more specific similarities:

- a. The speech of Wealth complaining at over-niggardly or over-generous treatment and Chremylus' reply recommending moderation (*Wealth* 234–48) are similar to Zeus's description of Wealth's complaints and Wealth's own advocacy of moderation in *Timon* 13–16.
- b. The personified Poverty appears in both works and sets out the virtues of a simple life (at length in *Wealth* 415–610, briefly in *Timon* 32–3).
- c. The Honest Man who enters at *Wealth* 823 complains, like Timon, that his friends abandoned him in time of need (834–7) and dedicates his ragged cloak and worn-out shoes to the god Wealth as Timon dedicates his smock and pick to Pan (*Wealth* 838–49, *Timon* 42).
- d. Hermes features in both works. In *Wealth* he is one of the concluding series of petitioners; he complains that no one now makes sacrifices to the gods (cf. *Timon* 4), and his stock epithets prove to be useless (cf. *Timon* 1).

Scholars have disagreed widely over the significance of these similarities; but although it is the case that Lucian's works are full of personifications (Sculpture and Culture in *The Dream*, for example), the presence in *Timon* of personified Wealth and Poverty does strongly suggest that he took inspiration from Aristophanes' play (13 περινοστέϊν, 25 ὁ Λυγκεὺς nn.). The main conclusion to be drawn from this evidence is perhaps not that *Timon* has a close intertextual relationship with *Wealth*, but that Lucian has, as is his standard practice, used elements from the comic drama and from dialogue in a new way. The work begins in Homeric mode but quickly shifts from the antiquated and ineffectual trappings of traditional epic towards the characteristically Lucianic mixture of dialogue and comedy. *Timon* is a comic dialogue divisible into 'acts', depicting the triumph of a downtrodden protagonist and concluding with a series of encounters reminiscent of Aristophanes. But the triumph is more negative and less celebratory than those familiar from comedy: Chremylus is socially inclusive, Timon exclusive.

Misanthropy is open to a wide variety of treatments. Menander's Cnemon, solitary and independent by nature, suffers sudden misfortune and the indignity of rescue, comes to reconsider his philosophy, and is to some extent, however reluctantly, reintegrated into society. Lucian's Timon suffers no such reverse of his fortunes and makes no such compromise. Before the dialogue begins he has already suffered his reverse, bankrupted by indiscriminate generosity. (Hermes sets out a more and a less charitable interpretation of this in §8.) Although he becomes rich once again, his misanthropy remains unaffected, and his riches are merely a means to gain revenge on his former associates. At the beginning of the work he fulminates at the negligence of Zeus in language that matches the noise of the thunderbolt; in the closing scenes, his familiar pick a down-to-earth

equivalent for Zeus's lightning, he wages against the army of spongers, flatterers and hypocrites an entirely successful misanthropic Blitzkrieg: thus ἀκροβολιζόμενος in §45 corresponds to Zeus's ἀστραπή συνεχὲς ὥσπερ εἰς ἀκροβολισμόν in §3, and the hail of stones in §58 reflects the Jovian hailstones in the same scene. There is no suggestion here that the misanthrope is to be pitied as a lonely, self-loathing outcast from society. Solemnly renouncing all links with his fellow men (42–4), Timon brings himself to a condition which to an Aristotelian would seem little more than bestial but which to a doglike Cynic might seem indeed godlike: cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1253a27–9 ὁ δὲ μὴ δυνάμενος κοινωνεῖν δι' αὐτάρκειαν, οὐθὲν μέρος πόλεως, ὥστε ἢ θηρίον ἢ θεός (on αὐτάρκεια see pp. 9–10.).

A work of brutal humour, *Timon* does not invite subtle interpretation, and the reasons for its anti-hero's misanthropy are not examined. Wealth's conversations with Zeus and Hermes deal with such standard topics of the rhetorical schools as how to treat prosperity, and the symptoms of miserliness, with brilliant satire but unremarkable conclusions. The moderate course advocated there is not followed by Timon, whom previous disappointments have driven from an excess of friendliness to a complete renunciation of friends: his formal decrees, of which the first is a charter for withdrawal from society and the second a mendacious invitation to be incorporated in it, continue the contrast (42–4, 50–1). The dialogue as a whole shares with many other of Lucian's works this Cynic flavour: gods and humans, the state and individuals, philosophers and orators are all belittled, satirised, finally discarded. Timon, poor or rich, is a malicious, biting critical figure whose pick is representative not only of Zeus's thunderbolt but also of his own wounding words. He pursues pretension and hypocrisy with the fervour of a Cynic moralist, and he wants nothing more than to be left alone. Even to read about him seems an act of trespass; the dialogue ends abruptly, as the 'collection of miserable wretches' is repelled and promises to 'go away' (58). This pell-mell departure and the threat to make them all sorry are the last in a series of allusions to epitaphs of Timon. One is attributed to Callimachus by Plutarch but is probably by Hegesippus:

Τίμων μισάνθρωπος ἔσοικέω, ἀλλὰ πάρελθε  
οἰμῶζειν εἴπας πολλά· πάρελθε μόνον.

(*AP* 7.320.3–4 = Hegesippus 8; *HE* 1933 4; *Plut. Ant.* 70.4)

('Timon the misanthrope's dwelling. Pass by! Curse me as much as you like, but just pass by!'). Here οἰμῶζειν is substituted for the usual χαίρειν, passers-by being conventionally invited to stay awhile, read the inscription, and say a farewell to the departed (cf. §5). Another epigram, certainly by Callimachus, is probably the model for the above:

μὴ χαίρειν εἵτηις με, κακὸν κέαρ, ἀλλὰ πάρελθε·  
ἴσον ἔμοι χαίρειν ἔστι τὸ μὴ σε πελᾶν.

(*AP* 7.318 = Callimachus 52, *HE* 1271 2)

(‘Don’t say “Fare you well” to me, you rascal; just pass by. If you don’t come near I’ll fare well enough!’) In the case of Timon’s grave, the passer-by really must pass by; and the second poem, like that recorded by Plutarch as composed by Timon himself (*Anl.* 70.4), prevents a farewell by withholding the dead man’s name. In Lucian the notions of οἰμῶζειν and παρελθεῖν look forward to Timon’s death and perhaps provide an aetiology for his epitaph: we are told that he will arrange his own obsequies, and that his tower will be his monument (42–3). He complains that his former friends ‘pass him by’ like an old gravestone (5 παρέρχονται); Hermes confirms this, and, in a covert reference to the lack of a name in Callimachus’ poem, says παρέρχονται οὐδὲ τούνομα, εἰ Τίμων καλοῖτο, εἰδότες (8). Zeus, however, will not ‘overlook’ Timon (9 οὐ παροπτέος); but when Hermes brings forward Wealth Timon, in another reference to the Callimachean epigram, says εὐδαιμονέστατός εἰμι μηδενός μοι πλησιάζοντος (35).

Characteristic of Lucian’s cynical writing is the work’s all-encompassing mockery of social dependence, pretension, philosophers, the gods, rich and poor alike. The world is full of selfish hypocrites, and the ideal life is one which glories in selfishness without hypocrisy. The effortless triumph of pure misanthropy seems to demand no further analysis: laugh or shudder, but pass on.

#### Bibliography

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**I–6** Timon delivers a long tirade, punctuated by humorously deflatory comments, against the failure of Zeus to punish the wicked. The reason for this rant becomes clear in §§5–6: now that he is poor, he is ignored and avoided by the very people who most sought his company when he was rich. In disgust he has retreated to the margins of the city, where he is living the simple life of a misanthropic farm labourer. The invocation contrives to ridicule Zeus by contrasting his punishment of great criminals in the mythical (and implicitly fabulous) past with his lack of concern in the present.

**I** The cry of distress and the invocation of Zeus are reminiscent of Aristophanic opening speeches: *Clouds*, *Thesmophoriazousae* and *Wealth* begin similarly with ὦ Ζεῦ. The effect is enhanced by the rhythm: ὦ Ζεῦ φίλιε καὶ ξένιε καὶ makes

two iambic metra. ἔταιρεῖε καὶ ἐφέστιε: these epithets occur together in Herodotus’ description of Croesus’ invocation of Zeus (1.44.2). ἄστεροπητὰ . . . νεφεληγερέτα . . . ἐρίγδουπε: epic epithets of Zeus, bombastic sounding when used out of a conventional poetic context, as Timon wryly implies in the following words: his indignation has led him to call on Zeus in full mythological panoply, but nowadays such epithets seem faintly ludicrous, and Zeus himself the mere bombastic creation of epic poets. εἴ τι . . . ἄλλο: it is conventional at the close of invocations to include a catch-all formula in case the prayer should lose efficacy by accidentally omitting a vital aspect of the god: Fraenkel on Aesch. *Agam.* 160. οἱ ἐμβρόντητοι ποιηταί: poets are conventionally described as filled with divine inspiration; Timon mockingly implies that they sing of Zeus when struck by his lightning. Normally ἐμβρόντητος means ‘stupid’ or ‘mad’ (e.g. Dem. *On the Crown* 243). ὑπερίδεις τὸ πῖπτον τοῦ μέτρου ‘you provide support when the metre is faltering’. When poets are at a loss (ὅταν ἀπορῶσιν) for a metrically convenient word a conventional epithet is very useful, and in ancient times Homeric expressions of this type were sometimes criticised as ‘padding’ (LSJ παραπληρώω, παραπλήρωμα). The metaphor of a ‘prop’ (Lat. *tigillum, tibicen*) is said to have been used by Virgil to describe provisional parts of the *Aeneid* composed hastily so as not to interrupt the flow of his inspiration (*Vit. Donat.* 24). For a different metaphorical use see 50 χαῖρε, ὦ Τίμων, . . . τὸ ἔρεισμα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν. For πῖπτω in the sense ‘fail’ see LSJ B.II.4. τὸ κεκηνός ‘the gap’. This is perhaps a technical term of grammar: LSJ χάσκω I.4. ἐρισμάραγος . . . βαρύβρομος . . . αἰθαλόεις . . . ἀργήεις . . . σμερδαλέος: more epic-style adjectives. Alliteration and the piling-up of resounding epithets seem to evoke verbal thunder (τοῦ πατάγου τῶν ὀνομάτων) in place of the absent thunder of Zeus; but in a movement typical of Lucian all is dismissed as λῆρος in the next sentence. He has ‘stolen Zeus’s thunder’. καπνός . . . ποιητικός: καπνός is used commonly for empty and valueless things. Here it continues the imagery of thunder and lightning. ἔξω ‘except for’: LSJ III. τοῦ πατάγου τῶν ὀνομάτων ‘the thunderous sound of the words themselves’. For πάταγος of thunder cf. Ar. *Clouds* 382. μηδέ: see p. 6.

**2** θάπτον . . . ἢ ‘sooner, i.e. rather, . . . than’: LSJ ταχύς C.I.2. ἐωλον θρυαλλίδα φοβηθεῖν ἄν ‘would be afraid of yesterday’s lamp-wick’, which will have expired long since and cannot burn the fingers. οὕτω . . . αὐτοῖς ‘in this way you seem to be levelling at them only a dull firebrand’. δαλόν is here used in the sense of a smouldering but not flaming brand, as at Hom. *Od.* 5.488–90 and elsewhere: see Headlam on Herondas 1.38. ὥς = ὥστε. μόνον δὲ τοῦτο . . . ἀσβόλου ‘and think that the only ill effect they will get from being struck is that they will be covered in soot’, that is, they might suffer a besmirching of their reputations. ἀπολαύω, usually ‘enjoy’, is also used of bad effects: LSJ II. ἤδη . . . ὁ Σαλμωνεύς ἀντιβροντᾶν ἐτόλμα: Salmoneus, son of Aeolus, came to Elis, ‘and being arrogant (ὕβριστής) and wishful to put himself on an equality with

Zeus, he was punished for his impiety (ἀσέβεια); for he said that he was himself Zeus, and . . . by dragging dried hides, with bronze kettles, at his chariot, he said that he thundered, and by flinging lighted torches at the sky he said that he lightened. But Zeus struck him with a thunderbolt and wiped out the city he had founded with all its inhabitants' (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.7, tr. Frazer). The story was told by Hesiod in the *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 30 M W) and is referred to at some length by Virgil, who places Salmoneus among prominent sinners in the underworld (*Aen.* 6.585–94). ἤδη implies that even in the time of Salmoneus Zeus was beginning to lose his grip. οὐ πάντῃ ἀπίθανος ὦν 'not entirely unconvincingly' (LSJ ἀπίθανος III): it was not unreasonable that he should have made the attempt. ψυχρόν τὴν ὀργήν, 'cool in spirit', contrasts with θερμουργός, 'hot-headed'. If the thunderbolt and its owner are cold = uninterested, wickedness will flourish. ὅπου 'when': LSJ II.1. καθάπερ ὑπὸ μανδραγόραι καθεύδεις: the narcotic properties of the mandrake plant are mentioned by, amongst others, Plato (*Rep.* 488c) and Demosthenes (10.6); see further Arnott (1996) 419. ἐπισκοπεῖς: Zeus is traditionally conceived as watching over human behaviour (e.g. Hom. *Od.* 13.213–14). λημῆϊς 'your sight is bleary' (λημαί = 'sore eyes'). The word is familiar from Aristophanes (*Clouds* 327, *Wealth* 581; cf. *Lysis* 301). ἀμβλυώτεις . . . ἐκκεκώφησαι . . . παρηβηκότες: these choice words have good Attic provenance: ἀμβλυώττω and ἐκκωφέω are Platonic, and the perfect of παρηβάω is found at the climax of Pericles' Funeral Oration at Thuc. 2.44.4.

3 ἦγες . . . ἐκεχειρίαν 'made a truce' (Thuc. 5.26.2). There may be a specific reference to Lycaon and his wicked sons, who tested Zeus's omniscience by serving him human flesh and were punished by such violent storms and lightning that the earth 'held out her hands' in supplication to stop the barrage, providing the first example of ἐκεχειρία (thus Hemsterhuis: cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.8.1, Tzetzes on Lycophron 481). The Deucalian flood, mentioned below by Timon, was said by some to have been caused by the wickedness of Lycaon's sons (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.8.2). ἡ αἰγίς: in Homer Zeus, Athena and Apollo are said to carry the terrifying aegis, apparently a tasselled goatskin or a shield covered in goat's hide. On it were depicted personifications of strife and other horrors, and a Gorgon's head (*Il.* 5.738–42). ἐπεσεῖτο: a Homeric allusion: *Il.* 4.166–8 Ζεὺς δέ σφι . . . αὐτὸς ἐπισσεῖσιν ἐρεμνὴν αἰγίδα πᾶσι | τῇσδ' ἀπάτης κοτέων; cf. 15.230. ἡ βροντὴ ἐπαταγεῖτο: probably from Ar. *Clouds* 376–82, where παταγεῖν and πάταγος are used of clouds clashing together to make thunder. ὥσπερ εἰς ἀκροβολισμόν 'as if in a skirmish'. The meaning seems to be that lightning-bolts flew in all directions as Zeus blasted the wicked left, right and centre. κοσκινηδόν 'sieve-fashion'. The point is the vigorous shaking of the sieve and the rattling around of its contents. This word and πετρηδόν seem to be coinages of Lucian, and Timon apologises for the homely nature of his comparisons with the words ἵνα σοι φορτικῶς διαλέγωμαι, 'if you don't mind my using vulgar expressions'. ποταμὸς ἐκάστη σταγὼν 'each drop was (like a) river'.

ἐν ἀκαρεῖ χρόνῳ 'in a moment'; cf. 23 ἐν ἀκαρεῖ τοῦ χρόνου. The expression is found in Plato, Aristophanes and other Classical authors. ἀκαρεῖς = 'uncuttable', i.e. too small to be divisible (κείρω = 'shear'). ἐπὶ τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος 'in the time of Deucalion' (LSJ ἐπὶ A.II.a). Deucalion and Pyrrha survived a flood sent by Zeus to wipe out wicked mankind by occupying a chest (λάβραξ, κιβώτιον) or a small boat which landed at last on Lycoreus, one of the peaks of Mt Parnassus (Paus. 10.6.2). They later repopulated the earth by casting behind them stones which miraculously became humans. The best-known version of the story is Ovid, *Met.* 1.318–415. At *On the Syrian Goddess* 12 Lucian combines details of the Greek myth with the story of the Ark: see Lightfoot ad loc. ὥς = ὥστε, qualifying περιωσθῆναι. προσοκείλαν 'coming ashore', neuter participle in series with διαφυλλάττον below. ζώπυρόν τι τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου σπέρματος 'a spark of human seed', an allusion to a much imitated passage in Plato's *Laws*, where in a discussion of how mankind might have escaped periodic floods by inhabiting mountain-tops there are said to have been ἐν κορυφαῖς που σμικρὰ ζώπυρα τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διασεωσμένα γένους (677b). The image of the surviving spark is particularly suitable for survival from thunder and lightning; cf. Eur. *Bacchae* 8 τυφόμενα Δίου πυρὸς ἐτι ζώσαν φλόγα. εἰς ἐπιγονὴν κακίας μείζονος 'for a posterity of greater wickedness'. The new race might have been expected to be less wicked than its predecessor, but Timon uncharitably sees it as even worse. The notion of decline is perhaps reinforced by an echo of the Hesiodic phrase γένος πολλὸν χειρότερον used to describe the inferiority of the Silver Race at *Works and Days* 127.

4 The result of Zeus's apathy is neglect and contemptuous treatment by mortals. ἀκόλουθα τῆς ραιθυμίας τὰπίχειρα κομίζῃ 'you are taking as wages the consequences of your indifference'. τὰ ἀκόλουθα are what 'follows' from an action, i.e. what is consequent on or commensurate with it. τὰ ἐπίχειρα are wages, originally received for manual (χείρ) labour. στεφανοῦντος: sc. σε. Wreaths were placed on statues of the gods as a token of honour. εἰ μή τις ἄρα ἀπέρργον Ὀλυμπίων 'unless someone, after all, <does so> as an incidental formality at the Olympic Games (τὰ Ὀλύμπια)', where the forms of ritual might be expected to be observed out of tradition rather than belief. For ἄρα in conditionals of this type see GP 37 8. καὶ οὗτος 'and at that': cf. LSJ οὗτος c.viii.2, Oakley on Livy 9.18.9. κατ' ὀλίγον 'little by little', 'gradually': LSJ ὀλίγος iv.7. Κρόνον σε . . . ἀποφαίνουσι, παρῳασάμενοι τῆς τιμῆς: Κρόνος was used colloquially for 'old fool': LSJ II. Zeus supplanted his father Cronus after defeating him and the Titans in battle (Hes. *Theog.* 453–506); Timon suggests that Zeus is himself suffering a more insidious usurpation. For ἀποφαίνω = 'render' cf. 5 πλουσίους ἐκ πνευστῶν ἀποφύνας, LSJ A.IV.1. ἔῴ λέγειν 'I forbear to mention'. ποσάκις ἤδη σου τὸν νεῶν σεσυλήκασιν: temple robbers were called ἱερόσυλοι, and their depredations were a constant cause for concern; Zeus confirms this in §9. Cf. Juvenal 13.147–52 'What about those who carry off huge

goblets of marvellous antiquity from temples and steal gifts donated by the people or garlands dedicated by kings of old? If a temple does not contain such valuables, there is a minor sort of robber who scrapes away at the gold plate on Hercules' leg, or at Neptune's face, and who pulls the gold leaf off Castor'; see also Lapatin (2001) 88–90.

**σὺ δ' ὑψιβρεμέτης**: another resounding Homeric epithet, contrasting pathetically with Zeus's feeble behaviour. The definite article is sometimes used to attach a special attribute to a noun or (as here) a pronoun; similarly, with the pronoun understood, **ὁ γενναῖος καὶ Γίγαντολέτωρ** below.

**ἀναστήσαι τοὺς κύνας** 'rouse the dogs': LSJ ἀνίστημι A.II. Temples were often equipped with guard dogs to keep safe valuable objects dedicated there (Plut. *De soll. anim.* 13.11, Ael. *NA* 7.13, 11.3, 5, 20, Philostr. *VA* 8.30.2), but here the joke depends on their being like normal domestic dogs: the temple is Zeus's 'home'. Similarly **τοὺς γείτονας ἐπικαλέσασθαι** is the act of an ordinary householder discovering a burglar red-handed.

**συσκευαζομένους πρὸς τὴν φυγὴν** 'getting packed up for a quick retreat', military language humorous when applied to temple-robbers.

**Γίγαντολέτωρ**: in the Gigantomachy or battle of the gods and giants Zeus quelled his enemies with the thunderbolt (Ovid, *Met.* 1.155).

**Τιτανοκράτωρ**: see n. on Κρόνον above.

**ἐκάθησο τοὺς πλοκάμους περικειρόμενος**: humiliatingly shorn of his golden locks, as if his seated posture were for the convenience of a barber. Phidias' statue of Zeus at Olympia, made of gold and ivory and adorned with jewels (Paus. 5.11.1 9; cf. *Dream* 8 Φειδίας . . . n.), one of the Seven Wonders of the World, ought to have been imposing enough to deter sacrilege. Its luxuriant locks were a prominent feature; in sculpting them Phidias is said to have had in mind *Il.* 1.528–30 *κυανέησιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσιν νεύσε Κρονίων ἰ ἀμβρόσια δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος ἰ κρατὸς ἄπ' ἀθανάτοιο, μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὀλυμπιον* (Str. 8.3.30; Lapatin (2001) 84 n. 233). A similar joke is made at *Zeus Rants* 25, where Zeus says that Fate prevents his blasting with a thunderbolt those who sheared from his statue at Pisa two locks, weighing six mnai each (δύο μου τῶν πλοκάμων ἀποκείραντας; cf. *Symp.* 32).

**δεκάπηχυν κεραυνὸν ἔχων ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ**: a curious error: the Phidian statue held a Nike in its right hand and a sceptre surmounted by an eagle in its left: Lapatin (2001) fig. x and 189–92. Probably Lucian is confusing the Phidian Zeus with statues inspired by it, such as that of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitol, which held a thunderbolt in its right hand (*LIMC* VIII 1.426–8, 2.269 71). The error may have been compounded by stories of Zeus striking down with lightning a ship on its way to remove his Olympic statue to Rome (Dio Cassius 59.28.3 4) or by the tale that he gave a flash of lightning to show Phidias his approval of the statue (Paus. 5.11.9).

**ὦ θαυμάσιε** 'wondrous ruler'; usually 'my fine fellow', and often with a hint of irony (LSJ II).

**παύσεται . . . παρορώμενα** 'stop being overlooked': LSJ παύω 1.3, παρορώ II.1.

**Φαέθοντες ἢ Δευκαλίωνες**: i.e. conflagrations and floods. Phaethon had to be destroyed by a thunderbolt when he lost control of the sun's chariot and seemed about to burn the earth (*Dialogues of the Gods* 24, Ovid, *Met.* 2.1–332). On Deucalion see 3

ἐπὶ τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος n. **ὑπέραντλον** 'overflowing'. The image is of a waterlogged ship, too full to be baled out. Cf. 18 **μὴ ὑπέραντλος εἰσπτεσῶν ἐπικλύσω αὐτόν**.

5 In a long and indignant sentence Timon at last gives the reason for his ranting denunciation.

**τὰ κοινὰ ἐάσας** 'leaving aside general matters': for this use of ἐάω cf. 4 **ἔω λέγειν**.

**πᾶσι τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπικουρήσας** 'having helped all those in need': cf. 8 **ὁ πρὸς τοὺς δεομένους ἅπαντας οἶκτος**.

**μᾶλλον δέ** 'or rather . . .': LSJ μάλα II.1.3.

**ἄθρόον** 'all at once', probably an adjective with πλοῦτον rather than an adverb.

**κάκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νεύματος ἀνηρητημένοι**: cf. the English metaphor 'hang on my every word'. Timon was himself Zeus-like in his omnipotence.

**μηδὲ ἀναγνόντες** 'without even recognising me', but also 'without even reading my words' (LSJ I.b, II): epitaphs often asked passers-by to take time to read them (see p. 163).

**μηδὲ** would be οὐδέ in Classical Attic.

**ὑπτίαν . . . ἀνατετραμμένην**: overturned, with its inscription no longer visible: LSJ ὑπτίος III.1.

**ἐτέραν** 'another route': on feminine adverbs see *Dream* 1

**οὐκ εἰς μακράν** n. Here too ὁδόν might be understood.

**δυσάντητον καὶ ἀποτρόπαιον** 'unlucky to meet and ill-omened' (cf. ἐτέραν ἐπιτρέπονται above).

**ὑπολαμβάνοντες** 'supposing', 'thinking': LSJ III.1.

**οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ** 'not long before': cf. 25 **πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐκλελοιπὸς τοῦ βίου**, *Book-collector* 6 **οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ**,

LSJ πολὺς IV.7.

**σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην**: a phrase often applied to kings and emperors: LSJ εὐεργέτης I.2.

6 **ἔσχατιαν**: Timon is working on the edge of Attica in the foothills of Mt Hymettus, as we learn in §7. The word ἔσχατιά does not always imply desolation,

but his dwelling-place reflects the fact that he is now isolated and on the fringes of society. With similar misanthropy Menander's Cnemon says οὐδ' ἐργάζομαι ἰ τοιοῦτο τὸ μέρος τοῦ χωρίου, πέφευγα δὲ ἰ διὰ τοὺς παριόντας (*Dysc.* 163 5).

The passage contains further allusions to *Dyscolus*: Cnemon, too, is said to desire ἐρημία (169, 597; cf. 694) and Sostratus is seen in a dream digging with a δίκελλα

and wearing a διφθέρα (415 17; cf. §§7 8).

**ὑπόμισθος ὀβολῶν τεσσάρων** 'working for a wage of four obols a day', just above subsistence level.

**τῇ ἐρημίᾳ καὶ τῇ δικέλλῃ προσφιλοσοφῶν** 'philosophising with the solitude and with my pick', a good example of syllepsis, in which the same word is used with both literal and metaphorical meanings.

**παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν** 'undeservedly', another feminine adjective used as a noun (cf. 5 ἐτέραν n.).

**καὶ νήδυμον**: a Homeric epithet of sleep (e.g. *Il.* 2.2).

**ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἐπιμενίδην**: the Cretan Epimenides (seventh century BC) fell asleep in a cave while tending his sheep, and awoke fifty-seven years later. Many other miraculous tales were told about him (Diog. Laert. 1.110; cf. Plato, *Laws* 642d). He wrote hexameter verse (see below).

**ἀναρριπίσας**: ῥιτίς is a fan, the ancient equivalent of bellows; so 'fanning back into flame'.

**νεανικοῦ** implies vigour and high spirits. In his concluding prayer Timon recurs to the subject with which he began.

**εἰ μὴ ἀληθῆ τὰ**

ὑπὸ Κρητῶν . . . μυθολογούμενα: the Cretans are said to have claimed that Zeus died and was buried in Crete. Timon alludes here to the Liar Paradox. It was most famously formulated in a hexameter poem by Epimenides, who being himself Cretan said Κρήτες αἰεὶ ψεῦστοι (fr. 5 Kinkel). The words are quoted by Callimachus in his *Hymn to Zeus* in connection with the alleged death of Zeus (8), and it may be that Epimenides himself was referring to the same event. See Porphyry. *Vit. Pythag.* 17, Schol. Call. *H.* 1.8, Cook 1 (1914) 157 63.

7 The scene changes to Olympus. Zeus asks Hermes who the ranting peasant might be. His questions show that he is indeed out of touch with some human affairs. οἶμαι: from his Olympian viewpoint Zeus cannot quite see what Timon is doing. σκάπτει . . . ἐπικεκυφώς 'bending over as he swings his pick', as in the colourful description at Men. *Dysc.* 537-8 μόλις ἀνακύπτοντ' εἴθ' ὄλωι τῷ σώματι ἢ πάλιν κατακύπτοντ'. ἄνθρωπος = ὁ ἄνθρωπος (sc. ἐστὶ). οὐ γὰρ ἂν . . . διεξήκει: sc. εἰ μὴ φιλόσοφος ἐστί. διεξήκει perhaps suggests a philosopher's thorough itemisation of points. τὸν Κολλυτέα 'from Collytus', a deme in the south-west of the city of Athens. The most famous demesman of Collytus was Plato. καθ' ἱερῶν τελείων ἐστιάσας 'who entertained us with/at perfect sacrifices', i.e. performed with all proper rites or with full-grown victims (LSJ τέλειος 1.a). The use of κατὰ in this sense is odd; possibly it is by extension from the use in oaths, Timon having first vowed to make the sacrifices: cf. Thuc. 5.47.8 (a decree) ὁμνύντων τὸν . . . ὄρκον ἕκαστοι τὸν μέγιστον κατὰ ἱερῶν τελείων, where the oath is to be taken 'over' the sacrificed victims (LSJ ὁμνυμι π). ὁ νεόπλουτος: the word implies a certain irresponsibility in the handling of sudden wealth. ὁ τὰς ὁλὰς ἐκατόμβας: sc. θύων: a common conversational Attic idiom omits the participle in descriptive expressions with the definite article. τὰ Διόσια: an important festival in honour of Zeus Meilichios celebrated at Athens each year in the month Anthesteria (March/April): Thuc. 1.126.6, Ar. *Clouds* 408. τί παθῶν; 'how on earth . . .?', literally 'having suffered what . . .?', a common idiom: LSJ πάσχω π.4.

8 Hermes supplies details omitted by Timon in his account in §5: Timon was responsible for his own misfortune because he did not choose his friends wisely. He ought to have realised that they were mere spongers. οὕτως μὲν εἰπεῖν . . . ὥς δὲ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ 'one could say that (sc. if one wanted to take a charitable view) . . . but if truth be told . . .': LSJ ὥς B.11.3, A.B.11.2. δὲ οὐ συνίει . . . χαριζόμενος 'because he didn't understand that he was treating generously . . .': συνίημι is constructed with a participle like other verbs of perceiving: LSJ π.3 fin. κόραξι καὶ λύκοις: creatures that will pick a man's bones clean. κόραξ sounds happily like κόλαξ, 'flatterer': cf. 48 τούτους κόλακας φυλάξῃ . . . κοράκων οὐδὲν διαφέροντας. The joke is first used at Ar. *Wasps* 44-5, where Alcibiades' lisping mispronunciation is mocked. κειρόμενος τὸ ἥπαρ: he is like Prometheus, 'eaten alive' by parasitical spongers. Cf. *Lit. Prom.* 3 ὑπὸ ἐκκαίδεκα . . . n. ὑπ' εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν χαίροντας τῇ βορᾷ: he thought they

enjoyed eating with him because they liked him. βορὰ is normally used of the food of carnivorous animals. περιτραγόντες: aorist participle of περιτρώγω, 'gnaw all round'. ἐκμυζήσαντες: a rare word occurring once in Homer, where it refers to a physician's sucking poison from a wound (*Il.* 4.218). αὖτον αὐτὸν καὶ τὰς ῥίζας ὑποτετμημένον ἀπολιπόντες 'leaving him withered <like a plant> with its roots cut'. Plant roots were slit so that the sap could be tapped; this left them wilting and dried-up. The sap was used for magical or medicinal purposes, and those who practised the art were ῥιζοτόμοι: Delatte (1936). πόθεν γάρ; 'Why should they?' Timon has nothing left to interest them. ἐπιιδόντες ἐν τῷ μέρει 'volunteering gifts to him in their turn'. μισθοῦ 'for hire' (gen. of price). μελαγχολῶν: *Sigma vs Tau* 9 ὑπὸ μελαγχολίας n. οἱ πλουτοῦντες παρ' αὐτοῦ 'those who are rich from him', i.e. as a result of his generosity: cf. *Sea Gods* 5.2 πλουτήσας παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου. παρέρχονται . . . εἰδότες: see p. 164.

9 Zeus regrets his neglect of Timon, and explains that he has been fully occupied with perjurers and other criminals; moreover, such a babble of voices arises from the philosophers and orators of Athens that the prayers of individual citizens can scarcely be heard. παροπτέος picks up Hermes' closing words (ὑπεροπτικῶς, παρέρχονται). ἐπιλελησμένοι . . . καύσαντας: Zeus's reply begins with a reminiscence of both the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*. When, near the beginning of the *Odyssey*, Athena draws his attention to the plight of Odysseus, Zeus replies τέκνον ἐμὸν . . . πῶς ἂν ἐπειτ' Ὀδυσῆος . . . λαθοίμην, ἢ δὲ περὶ μὲν νόον ἐστὶ βροτῶν, περὶ δ' ἱρὰ θεοῖσιν ἢ ἀθανάτοισιν ἔδωκε; (1.64 7); and at the beginning of the *Iliad* Chryses begs Apollo to hear his prayer εἰ δὲ ποτέ τοι κατὰ πύονα μῆρι' ἔκηα ἢ ταύρων ἢ δ' αἰγῶν (1.40-1). ἐπιλελησμένοι is conditional: 'if we were to forget'. ἐτι γοῦν ἐν ταῖς ῥῖσι τὴν κνίσαν αὐτῶν ἔχω: probably a further Homeric allusion: *Il.* 4.48 9 (Zeus is fond of the Trojans) οὐ γὰρ μοι ποτε βωμὸς ἐδέετο δαιτὸς εἰσὶς ἢ λαιβῆς τε κνίσης τε: τὸ γὰρ λάχομεν γέρας ἡμεῖς; cf. 24.68-70. The Lucianic, like the Aristophanic, gods savour keenly the juicy offerings made by mankind below. πλὴν can introduce a new sentence; the meaning is 'however' or 'but' (literally, 'except for the fact that'): LSJ B.11.2, 3, §10 fin. πλὴν ἱκανῇ . . . αὕτη τιμωρία ἐσται, 39 πλὴν ὅρα. θορύβου πολλοῦ: as often in Old Comedy and in Lucian, the Athenians are depicted as quarrelsome liars and criminals. ἐτι δὲ καί: 'and besides': LSJ ἐτι π.1. φόβου: governed by ὑπὸ, in series with ἀσχολίας and θορύβου. ὀλίγον καταμύσαι 'close my eyes for a moment'. There is perhaps a reference to a well-known passage of Homer: ἄλλοι μὲν ῥά θεοὶ τε καὶ ἄνδρες ἱπποκορυσταὶ ἰεῦδον παννύχιοι, Δία δ' οὐκ ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος (*Il.* 2.1 2; and for νήδυμος cf. §6). ἐφιᾶσι 'allow': LSJ A.11.c. φιλοσοφία καὶ λόγων ἔριδες: a vague reference back to the beginnings of philosophical argument in the fifth century as reflected in the *Clouds* and Platonic dialogues. ἐπεπόλασαν 'have become fashionable': LSJ π.2. μαχομένων . . . καὶ κεκραγόντων: genitive absolute. ἐστὶ = ἔξεστί. ἐπιβυσσάμενον . . . τὰ ὦτα καθῆσθαι 'sit with one's ears plugged'. The

alternative ἡ ἐπιτριβῆναι shows that there is a joking allusion to the story of Odysseus plugging (ἀλείφω) his crew's ears with wax so that they should not be destroyed by the allure of the Sirens (*Od.* 12.39–54, 154–200). The philosophers, of course, are the opposite of alluring. ἀσώματα 'incorporeal things'. The adjective is a technical term in Plato, Aristotle and other philosophers. ἀρετήν: philosophers constantly discuss the definition and attainment of virtue. συνειρόντων 'stringing together', i.e. 'speaking volubly about': *Dream* 8 συνείρουσα n. καὶ τοῦτον 'this fellow, too'.

**10** Zeus prepares to remedy his negligence: Timon is to be enriched and the spongers punished. τὸν Πλοῦτον . . . παραλαβὼν 'take Wealth with you and . . .'; but παραλαμβάνειν is also used of *inheriting* money: LSJ 1.1. ἀγέτω . . . μενέτωσαν . . . ἀπαλλαττέσθωσαν: the third-person imperatives have an official sound: cf. 51 δεδόχθω n. οὕτω ῥαδίως: sc. as they did the last time. κἄν = καὶ ἔάν. ὅτι μάλιστα 'as much as he can': LSJ μάλα 11.1. ὑπὸ χρηστότητος: Zeus alludes to Hermes' description of Timon at the beginning of §8. αὐθις μὲν σκέψομαι 'I'll consider the matter later': LSJ 11.3. ἐπισκευάσω 'repair': 20 ἐπισκευάσωσιν, LSJ 11.1. ἀποστομωμένοι εἰσὶ 'have lost their edge' (στόμα = point of a weapon: LSJ 11.1). φιλοτιμότερον 'rather too ambitiously': LSJ 11. πρῶτην 'the other day': from a divine perspective it was a recent event. τὸν σοφιστὴν Ἀναξαγόραν: the philosopher Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, who taught about the gods and was not a sophist in the usual sense of that word, lived in Athens c. 456–436 BC. When he was tried for impiety, having argued that the sun and moon were material objects rather than divinities, his 'pupil' and patron Pericles got him safely out of the city (*Plut. Per.* 32). Zeus describes this protective act in ὑπερέσχε γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὴν χεῖρα Περικλῆς, words which gain piquancy from being an adaptation of lines in which Homeric characters describe Zeus's protection of his favourites (*Il.* 4.249, 9.419–20, *Od.* 14.184 – Bompaigne). Comic poets compared Pericles to Zeus (*Plut. Per.* 3.3). μὴδὲ ὄλως εἶναι 'to be completely non-existent', 'not to exist at all'. τινὰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς θεοὺς 'such beings as us gods'. ἐκείνου μὲν διήμαρτον: another reversal of Homeric conventions to illustrate Zeus's failing powers: the words recall Homeric scenes in which *humans* show fallible aim: *Il.* 4.491–2 τοῦ μὲν ἄμαρθ', ὁ δὲ Λεῦκον . . . ἰ βεβλήκει βουβῶνα, 15.430 3 τοῦ μὲν ἄμαρθ', ὁ δ' ἔπειτα Λυκόφρονά . . . ἰ . . . ἔβαλεν κεφαλὴν . . . τὸ Ἀνακείον: the temple of Castor and Pollux, who were called Ἀνακτες or Ἀνακτες (*Plut. Thes.* 33.3–5), on the north-west slope of the Acropolis. There may be a reference to a fire that actually took place there, though none is recorded in our sources. In an atheistical argument, Socrates in *Clouds* asks why Zeus ignores many criminals but strikes his own temple and sacred oak trees (398–402), and the objection is one commonly made against the traditional view of the gods: cf. Cic. *De diu.* 2.44–5, Lucr. 6. 379–422. περί: local: 'on the Acropolis'. ὀλίγου δεῖν: *Dream* 6 μικροῦ n. ἐν τοσοῦτῳ 'in the mean time': LSJ 11. αὐτοῖς: the spongers. ὁρῶσιν 'when they see' (participle in agreement with αὐτοῖς).

**11** Hermes, who has shown himself to be a cynical character in his assessment of Timon (8), now pretends to be shocked that loud complaint should be rewarded. The opening words of Wealth, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἂν ἀπέλθοιμι, respond to Zeus, showing that Hermes' speech is an aside; it resembles the cheeky asides of slaves in comic plays. οἶον ἦν τὸ μέγα κεκραγῆναι: this use of the imperfect ἦν, usually with ἔρα, implies that something *was and is* true, or that the speaker has suddenly realised a truth: LSJ εἰμί F, *GMT* §39. τοῖς δικαιολογοῦσι 'advocates'; cf. 37 δικαιολογήσομαι. τοῦτο χρήσιμον: sc. ἐστί. αὐτίκα μάλα 'instantaneously'. ἐπιστρέψας τὸν Δία 'because he attracted the attention of Zeus': LSJ ἐπιστρέφω 1.2.a. ἔσκαπτεν ἐπικεκυφώς: this section of dialogue is brought to a conclusion with an echo of Zeus's opening speech (7 σκάπτει δὲ οἶμαι ἐπικεκυφώς). οὐκ ἂν ἀπέλθοιμι 'I couldn't possibly go off'. The optative in such expressions is stronger than the indicative: *GMT* §236. καὶ ταῦτα 'at that', i.e. even though I have asked you to go. Usually, as here, the expression modifies a participle: 12 καὶ ταῦτα πατρῷον αὐτῷ φίλον ὄντα, LSJ οὔτος c.viii.2.a.

**12** Wealth's unwillingness to go back to Timon. He dislikes the company of spendthrifts, and prefers a host who will take good care of him. ἐξεφόρει 'he put me out'. Cf. 57 ἐκφόρησον αὐτὸν [τὸν πλοῦτον] ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας. πατρῷον . . . φίλον: i.e. Timon's wealth was inherited, and νεόπλουτος in §7 implies not that he is 'nouveau riche', but that he had recently come into his inheritance. μονονουχὶ δικράνοις ἐξεῶθει με τῆς οἰκίας 'he virtually pitchforked me out of his house', apparently a proverbial expression: cf. Ar. *Peace* 637 δικροῖς ἐώθουν τὴν θεὸν κεκράγμασιν (with Olson's n.). καθάπερ οἱ τὸ πῦρ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἀπορριπτοῦντες: Eng. 'he dropped me like a hot brick'. ἀπέλθω 'am I to go back?' παραδοθῆσόμενος: future participle of purpose. τοὺς περιέψον-τας 'those who will treat me with respect' (περιέπειν). λάροι 'greedy fools': the gull is easy to catch because of its heedless greed (*On Salaried Posts* 3); cf. Eng. 'gullible' and 'to gull'. Aristophanes calls greedy demagogues gulls (*Clouds* 591, *Knights* 956); in English 'cormorant' or 'gannet' are used as the type of avian greed. συνέστωσαν: third person plural imperative of σύνειμι. ἀγαπάτωσαν 'let them be content': LSJ 11.2.

**13–17** A brief debate between Zeus and Wealth on the proper use of riches. Wealth, says Zeus, is complaining at Timon's former prodigality, but he complains equally when he is 'imprisoned' by misers. Wealth, using the analogy of treatment of a wife, replies that moderation is the best course.

**13** πεπαιδαγώγηκεν: he has learnt his lesson the hard way. Cf. παιδαγωγοῖς of Interest and Accounts in §13 fin. εἰ μὴ . . . ἀνάλγητός ἐστι τὴν ὀσφύν 'even if his lower back isn't completely stiff'. The story of Timon's thankless digging and his subsequent relief may be inspired by a famous anecdote about the tyrant Pisistratus. On one of his inspections of Attica 'there occurred the incident



of the farmer on Mt Hymettus and the land later called "tax-exempt". Pisistratus saw someone working an area that was all stones, and, being surprised, told his attendant to ask what the land produced. "Aches and pains", the farmer replied; "Pisistratus ought to take his ten per cent of the aches and pains too". The man made the reply not knowing that he was speaking to Pisistratus, while the latter was delighted at his frankness and industriousness, and exempted him from all taxation' (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 16.6, tr. J. M. Moore). Timon, too, is digging stony ground on Mt Hymettus (7, 31 σκάπτει . . . ὀρειὸν καὶ ὑπόλιθον γῆιδιον) and is rewarded by an all-powerful figure at whom he has grumbled (1–6). The Pisistratus anecdote is said to be behind the proverb σφάκελοι ποιοῦσιν ἀτέλειαν, 'aches and pains give immunity', the meaning of which is much debated: Zenobius 2.4, iv 67 73 Bühler. μεμψίμοιρος 'always dissatisfied with your lot'. The μεμψίμοιρος is described at length by Theophrastus (*Char.* 17). αἰτιάι: 2nd pers. sing. of αἰτιάομαι, 'blame'. ἡφίει, imperf. act. of ἀφίημι, picks up Wealth's closing προίεμενοι (12 fin.) and puts a more charitable interpretation on his complaint that he was 'pitchforked out of the house' (12 med.). περινοστεῖν 'wander about', a word used by Wealth of his random wanderings at §§24 and 30. There is an allusion to the opening scene of Aristophanes' *Wealth*, where the blind god is told by Chremylus that Zeus is making him suffer by letting him stumble around aimlessly: ὅστις σε προσπταίνοντα περινοστεῖν ἔδει (121; cf. 494): ἔδει is rendered by ἡφίει. οὔτε ἀποκλείων οὔτε ζηλοτυπῶν 'neither keeping you shut up nor acting in a jealous fashion'. These actions would particularly suit the behaviour of a jealous man towards his wife or daughter, an image greatly elaborated by Wealth in the second half of his reply (16). σημείων ἐπιβολαῖς 'affixing of seals'. The impression of a signet-ring in wax could be used to detect interference in a cash-box or chest or unwelcome access to the women's chambers: Ar. *Thesmo.* 414–15 ταῖς γυναικωνιτίσιν ἢ σφραγίδας ἐπιβάλλουσιν ἤδη καὶ μοχλοῦς. κατακεκλεισθαι: another word often applied to women (LSJ 1.1 and s.v. κατάκλειστος, and used by Wealth himself in §15). παρακύψαι 'peep out', another word often used in amatory contexts, of girls looking out of doors or windows for lovers: Gow on Theoc. 3.7. ἀποπνίγεσθαι 'stifled'. ὠχρὸς . . . ἐφαίνου: it is probably implied that he is assimilated to the colour of gold itself. This is explicit in the similar passage *The Cock* 30, where the miser Simon is commanded διαγρύπνει καὶ ὁμοίως γίγνου τὸ χρῶμα τῷ χρυσῷ προστετηκὼς αὐτῷ; cf. *Charon* 11 ὕψυχρον. συνεσπακὼς τοὺς δακτύλους πρὸς τὸ ἔθος τῶν λογισμῶν 'with your fingers contracted (συσπᾶν) from habitual reckoning'. συνεσπακὼς τοὺς δακτύλους, taken in series with ἀπωδύρου, λέγων, ὠχρὸς ἐφαίνου and φροντίδος ἀνάπλεως as a symptom of distress at confinement, could mean 'wringing your hands', but πρὸς τὸ ἔθος τῶν λογισμῶν introduces a specific cause: they are stiff from being used for finger-reckoning, a common method of calculation in the ancient world (Mayor on Juv. 10.249): cf. *The Cock* 31 (see previous n.), where the miser is shown ἀναλογιζόμενον τοὺς τόκους καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους κατεσκληκότα. καθάπερ τὴν Δανάην: Danae was imprisoned in a

bronze chamber by her father Acrisius, who had been told by an oracle that a son of hers would kill him. She was visited by Zeus in a shower of gold and became the mother of Perseus, who later killed Acrisius unintentionally. See *Sea Gods* 12.1 (pp. 218–19), where similar vocabulary is used (ἐπαρθένευσεν ἐς χαλκὸν τινα θάλαμον ἐμβαλὼν, ζηλότυπος γέρων). The equivalent 'bronze or iron chamber' for Wealth is a strongbox. ἀκριβέσι '<over->strict': LSJ 11.1. ἀνατρεφόμενον 'brought up', but also 'fattened up', because of accruing interest increasing the capital.

14 Further satire on misers (a popular topic, as in e.g. Hor. *Sat.* 1.1): they get no pleasure from their wealth and expend all their efforts in guarding it; but, like husbands who are over-concerned about the chastity of their wives, they are deceived at last by a member of the household. ἐρῶντας μὲν εἰς ὑπερβολήν, ἐξὸν δὲ ἀπολαύειν οὐ τολμῶντας . . . φυλάττειν ἐγρηγορότας: these words may allude to the beginning of Menander's *Misoumenos*, where Thrasonides says that, in spite of his mad passion for Krateia, he has not slept with her: περιπατῶ δ' ἄνω κάτω ἢ . . . ἢ ἐξὸν καθεύδειν τήν τ' ἐρωμένην ἔχειν. ἢ . . . ἢ καὶ βούλομαι τοῦθ' ὥς ἂν ἐμμανέστατος ἢ ἐρῶν τις, οὐ ποιῶ δέ (A7 12 Sandbach). ἐρῶντας: throughout the passage Wealth is characterised as a jealously guarded wife. ἐξὸν δὲ ἀπολαύειν οὐ τολμῶντας 'not daring to enjoy you when it is possible to do so' (ἐξὸν acc. abs.). They get neither benefit from their money nor sexual pleasure from their wives. ἐπ' ἀδείας 'free from fear': LSJ ἐπὶ A.III.3. κυρίου 'having full control'; but also, of husbands, 'lords and masters'. φυλάττειν: the word is syntactically parallel with χρωμένους, but the infinitive is used, perhaps to avoid too many participles. ἐγρηγορότας: sleepless nights spent on the lookout for thieves/lovers. ἀσκαρδαμυκτὶ 'without blinking', a rare Attic word (e.g. Ar. *Knights* 292). ἱκανὴν . . . ἀπολαύσεως 'thinking it sufficient enjoyment not to be able to enjoy you themselves, but <to be able> to share enjoyment with no one'. καθάπερ τὴν ἐν τῇ φάτνῃ κύναν 'like the dog in the manger', apparently a well-known proverb (*Book-collector* 30, *CPG* 11 32, 171, 181). It has its origins in a fable of Aesop (702 Perry). τῶν κριθῶν: partitive genitive. ἐπιτρέπουσαν 'yielding', 'giving way to': LSJ 11.1. τὸ καινότατον: parenthetical: 'the oddest thing of all', pointing the paradox of αὐτοὺς ζηλοτυπούντων, 'being jealous of themselves' (i.e. reluctant to touch the wealth/wife which is rightfully theirs). κατάρατος οἰκέτης ἢ οἰκονόμος πεδότριψ: while they take such care to guard against burglars/lovers, their cash/wife is secretly being embezzled/seduced by a member of the household. κατάρατος, 'damnable', is a word common in comedy, and πεδότριψ, 'one who wears out fetters', i.e. 'inveterate rascal' (cf. *Saturn.* 8), is of a similar linguistic register, though it does not occur in extant comedy; *ferritribax* and *ferriterus* (Plaut. *Most.* 356, *Trin.* 1021) are Latin equivalents. ὑπείσιων 'entering unnoticed' into the strong-room/bedroom. ἐμπαροινήσει 'will behave drunkenly', i.e. 'will make merry' with the master's carefully husbanded possessions. πρὸς



'to the accompaniment of', i.e. 'by the light of': LSJ c.iii.6. **μικρόστομον λυχνίδιον και διψαλέον θρυαλλίδιον** 'a small narrow-necked lamp and a dried-out little wick'. The adjectives and diminutive forms underscore his meanness even as he keeps guard. **ἐπαγρυπνεῖν ἑσπας τοῖς τόκοις** 'leaving him to keep watch over his τόκοι'. The word means 'childbirth', then 'offspring', and 'offspring of money', i.e. interest; here there is ambiguity, the miser being represented as keeping watch over his interest-bearing money and the father as trying to keep at bay a daughter's lover. (A similar ambiguity is exploited at Ar. *Thesmo.* 830-45 and in Plautus' *Aulularia*.) There may be an allusion here to the opening scene of *Clouds*, where sleeplessness over τόκοι is linked with concern over thirsty lamps (18, 20, 56-9). **τῷ Τιμῶνι τὰ ἐναντία ἐπικαλεῖν** 'to bring the opposite accusation against Timon'; but the verb has a semi-technical meaning in claims of money: LSJ ἐπικαλέω iv.1.

**15** Wealth begins to defend his consistency. **εἰ . . . ἐξετάζοις, . . . δόξω:** this type of 'mixed construction' in conditionals is common in Homeric Greek but rare in Attic (*GMT* §499), where either a future indicative or ἔάν with the subjunctive in the protasis or else an optative with ἄν in the apodosis (as in the next sentence, ἄν δοκοῖν) would be normal. **τὸ πᾶν τοῦτο ἀνειμένον** 'this excessive lack of restraint': LSJ ἀνίημι ii.7. **ὥς πρὸς ἐμέ:** the meaning seems to be 'with regard to me' (i.e. neglectful and foolish with regard to me) rather than 'in my opinion'; cf. 16 τοὺς πᾶν προχείρους εἰς ἐμέ. Sometimes the meaning is 'in comparison with me' (*Hermot.* 13). **ἐν θύραις:** 'indoors' seems a natural translation, but elsewhere this phrase means 'in the doorway'. Lucian may have written *θηκαῖς* (suggested by Brodaeus) or a word of similar meaning. **ὅπως** is governed by ἐπιμελουμένους, 'taking care that . . .'. **παχύτερος . . . πιμελῆς:** the image is of a bird or animal being fattened in confined quarters. **κατασῆποντας** 'because they let me rot away', causal participle elucidating his use of the word ὑβριστάς. **μετὰ μικρόν ἀπίασιν** 'in a short time they will be gone', i.e. dead.

**16** **τοὺς πᾶν προχείρους εἰς ἐμέ** 'those who are too free-and-easy with me'. **ἐπιθήσοντας . . . ἀφεξομένους . . . προησομένους** 'those who will <when the time comes> . . .', equivalent to μέλλοντας ἐπιθήσειν κτλ. **πρὸς τοῦ Διός** 'in the name of Zeus', a conventional phrase amusingly addressed to the god himself. **μεθ' ἡμέραν** 'in the daytime' (Ar. *Wealth* 930). **συνεῖναι** 'have sexual relations with': LSJ ii.2. **ἀπάγοι** 'kidnaps her', contrasting with νόμῳ γήμας above. **μαστροπεύων** 'acting as her pimp'. **ἐρασθεὶς πολλάκις:** Zeus, notorious for his liaisons with mortal women such as Danae (13), is in a good position to adjudicate.

**17** **ἐπ' ἄρότῳ παίδων γνησίων** 'for the purpose of procreating legitimate children', a formula from the marriage contract (Men. *Dysc.* 842, *Perik.* 1014, *Sam.*

727). **ὁ δέ** 'and he', continuative. **στεῖραν** 'barren', a word found once in Homer (*Od.* 10.522, of a cow) but used in the *koine*. It is applied only to females. **καὶ ταῦτα** 'all the while', 'at that': LSJ οὗτος c.viii.2. **δῆλος ὦν:** sc. ἐρών. **τῆς σαρκὸς ἐκτετηκυίας καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὑποδευκότων** 'his wasting flesh and sunken eyes', typical symptoms of unrequited love. **τήκω** in particular is very often used of pining away (LSJ ii.2); for bags under the eyes cf. Theoc. 1.38, Rufinus, *AP* 5.87.4 = 31.4 Page. **ἔσθ' ὅπως ὁ τοιοῦτος οὐ** 'is it possible that such a man would not . . .?' (LSJ ὅπως A.1.3). **παραπαλεῖν** 'be mad' (cf. παραφρονεῖν), a word known to Lucian from Aristophanes and Plato (*Wealth* 508, *Symp.* 173e). The metaphor may be from striking a false note, or from mis-hitting a blow. **καθάπερ ἱέρειαν τῇ Θεσμοφόρῳ** 'like a priestess of Demeter', whose Thesmophoric festival, celebrated only by women, was preceded by ritual abstinence from food and from sexual intercourse. Here and at *Dialogues of Courtesans* 7.4 Lucian seems to imply that there were permanently chaste priestesses of the goddess, but these are nowhere else attested except by the scholion on the present passage. Perhaps διὰ παντός τοῦ βίου here may refer to the husband. Isaeus 8.19 suggests that the women of each deme chose two of their number to perform the rites: αἱ τε γυναῖκες αἱ τῶν δημοτῶν . . . προῦκριναν αὐτὴν μετὰ τῆς Διοκλέους γυναικὸς . . . ἄρχειν εἰς Θεσμοφορία καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ νομιζόμενα μετ' ἐκείνης. **καὶ αὐτός:** Wealth recurs to himself, having submitted to Zeus's judgment from σκόπει γάρ . . . up to this point. **ὥσπερ στιγματίας δραπέτης:** slaves who misbehaved could be branded or tattooed on the forehead either with an owner's mark or with a word describing their crime (e.g. ΔΡΑΠΕΤΑ, KK = κακός, or at Rome *FUR*): Headlam on Herondas 5.79, Mayor on Juv. 14.24.

**18** **ἄμφω . . . οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δέ** 'both groups . . . the hoarders . . . the spendthrifts'. **ὥσπερ ὁ Τάνταλος:** Zeus continues from Wealth's closing words, where λαφυσσόμενος and ἐξαντλούμενος moved the imagery back from women to food and water. Like Tantalus, punished in the underworld with tantalisingly close but unreachable nourishment, those who hoard wealth are in a state of constant suffering. **ἐπικεχηνότες** 'gaping at' (ἐπιχαίνω). **ὁ Φινεύς:** the winged Harpies stole or polluted the food of the blind seer Phineus before he could raise it to his lips. They were eventually driven off by the Argonauts Zetes and Calais (Ap. Rhod. 2.178-290). **τὴν τροφήν . . . ἀφαιρούμενοι** 'deprived of their food' (LSJ ἀφαιρέω iii.1). Parasites and spongers secure the money before the owner gets any benefit. **παρὰ πολὺ** 'by far': LSJ παρὰ c.iii.5.a. **ἐντευξόμενος** 'and you will find that . . .'. **ἐκείνος . . . ἔξοδος:** the oddness of the passage is well described by Harmon: 'There are two distinct <retorical> figures here. In both of them wealth is compared to water; but in the first it leaks in and is ladled out, while in the second it is ladled in and leaks out.' The first sentence seems to imply that Timon, the baler-out, is *inside* the vessel (hence his fear of being drowned), and Harmon concludes that κόφινος, 'basket', must here mean a basket-shaped boat. That meaning is not attested elsewhere, but

it does bring good sense to the image, which is otherwise difficult to interpret. **ἐξαντλῶν:** with **παύσεται**. **τὸν τῶν Δαναΐδων πίθον:** the second image is coherent: Wealth fears that like the daughters of Danaus, who as punishment for murdering their husbands were condemned to pour water endlessly into a leaking vessel (Hor. *Odes* 3.11.25–8; cf. pp. 212–14), he will be required to replenish continually the spendthrift's resources. **μὴ στέγοντος** 'not being watertight': LSJ B.1. **ἀλλὰ πρὶν εἰσρῆναι σχεδὸν ἐκχυθησομένου τοῦ ἐπιρρέοντος** 'but that what flows in will be leaked out almost before it has flowed in'; a rather redundant expression. **τὸ . . . κεηνός:** not, as one might expect, the mouth of the jar, but the gaping hole through which the water will escape.

**19** **τὸ κεηνὸς τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὸ ἄπαξ ἀναπεπταμένον** 'this gaping and once-opened hole', if the text is sound. But **εἰς τὸ ἄπαξ** for **εἰσάπαξ** is odd, and **καὶ** seems redundant. Harmon conjectured **ἔσται ἄπαξ ἀναπεπταμένον**, in series with the future indicative **ἐμφράζεται** found in some manuscripts: 'and it turns out to have been opened once for all'. **ἐν τῇ τρυγί τοῦ πίθου** 'in the dregs of the jar', 'in the bottom of the barrel'. When all his money is spent he will find the rustic life once more a necessity. There is a humorous inversion of the Hesiodic story of Pandora, who on opening her **πίθος** let out evils into the world, Hope alone being still trapped inside to support mankind in adversity (*Works and Days* 90–105). **τοὺς Κύκλωπας ἐκ τῆς Αἴτνης:** the Cyclopes of Hesiod (who have little in common with those of the *Odyssey*) are called Brontes, Steropes and Arges or Thunder, Lightning and Dazzler, and manufacture Zeus's thunderbolts in return for his having released them from imprisonment (*Theog.* 139–46). Like Hephaestus they act as divine blacksmiths, and Mt Etna is their forge (Call. *Hymn to Artemis* 46–61, Virg. *Geo.* 4.170–5). **ἤδη γε** 'very soon'.

**20** Hermes and Wealth set off for Athens. Wealth explains how he is by nature slow to arrive but quick to depart. Hermes says he has evidence to the contrary. **ὑποσκάζεις;** 'Are you a bit lame?': as a prefix **ὑπο-** often implies 'somewhat': LSJ F.II. **ὦ γεννάδα:** a deferential phrase found in Aristophanes and Plato: Dover (1993) 46. **ἐλελήθεις:** pluperf. of **λανθάνω**. He had not realised that Wealth was lame as well as blind. **τοῦτο =** **χωλὸς εἰμι**. **οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως** 'somehow or other': §1 fin., LSJ \*εἶδω B.7. **ἀμφοτέροις:** sc. **τοῖς ποσί**. **ὥς =** **ὥστε**. **προγηράσαντος ἐνίοτε τοῦ περιμένοντος** 'the man who is waiting for me grows old first (προ-)'. **πτηνὸν ὄψει** 'you'll see me flying'. **πολὺ τῶν ὀνείρων ὠκύτερον:** dreams are proverbially fleeting: *Od.* 11.222 **ψυχὴ δ' ἥ' ὅτ' ὄνειρος ἀποπταμένη πεπτότῃται**. **ἅμα . . . καὶ γὰρ** 'no sooner has . . . than I . . .': LSJ ἅμα A.3.a. **ἡ ὕσπληξ** 'the starting-gate', probably a wooden frame at either side of the running track, down which a rope could be dropped to begin a race: Bell (1990) 313–19. The imagery changes from fleeting dreams to Wealth's surprising fleetness of foot. **ὑπερπηδήσας τὸ στάδιον** 'having bounded over the course'. Wealth can disappear with such rapidity that

one cannot see what became of it. **πρίασθαι βρόχον:** a proverbial joke: cf. §45 **ἀγχόνῃ . . . n.**, *Sigma vs Tau* 9 **μηδὲ πᾶσσαλόν μοι καταλιπεῖν n.**, Plaut. *Pseudol.* 85–90, Hor. *Sat.* 2.2.99. **ἐπὶ λευκοῦ ζεύγους:** white horses were particularly desirable; they were associated with divinity and sometimes used for pulling the Roman victory-chariot: Hopkinson (1984) 40–1. **οὐδὲ κἄν ὄνος** 'not even a donkey'. In later Greek **κἄν** is used as a stronger form of **καί**, 'even': LSJ **κἄν** 1.3. **πορφυροῖ:** nom. pl. of **πορφυροῦς**, Attic form of **πορφύρεος**. Purple-dyed cloth was very costly. **χρυσόχειρες:** i.e. bedizened with gold rings. For both features cf. Juvenal's flashy Crispinus (1.27–9). **οἷμαι:** parenthetic, as often. **μή:** p. 6.

**21–23** Wealth explains that money suddenly acquired comes from legacies; but that the undeserving sponger who receives such a bequest generally loses it again after a short period of vulgar ostentation. §§22 and 23 are two long sentences, the first recounting with vivid satire the reading of the will and its results, the second describing the legatee's primrose path to perdition.

**21** **ὁ Πλούτων:** he is here called Pluto rather than Hades for the etymological pun on **πλοῦτος**. The words probably are related, Pluto being either a euphemism or an allusion to the fact that corn (= wealth) comes from beneath the earth: Plato, *Crat.* 403a, Cic. *De nat. deorum* 2.66, Pearson on Soph. fr. 273. **μετοικισθῆναι** 'have my residence changed'. **ἐς δέλτον ἐμβαλόντες με κατασημνάμενοι:** Wealth is pictured as entering a will when it is made. The will was written like a letter on a pair of wax tablets, which were then folded together, tied with string (**τὸ λίνον** below), and in the presence of witnesses sealed with the testator's signet. On procedure for wills see D S v 136–46; on sealing *ibid.* iv 1328–9, *RE* v 2 983–4, 8.639–40. Three ingenious methods of opening a sealed will without detection are recounted at *Alex.* 21. **φορηδὸν μετακομίζουσιν** 'they carry me with them like a parcel'. **ἐν σκοτεινῷ που τῆς οἰκίας** 'in some obscure corner of the house'. **πρόκειται** 'is laid out' for burial: LSJ 1.2. **παλαιαὶ τῇ ὀθόνη:** the rich man's corpse should have been laid out in style and ritually mourned (*On Grief* 11–13), but everyone is so keen to hear the will that they have spared time only to pull an old cloth up above his knees; they have acted with indecent haste. The definite article seems to suggest the nuance 'a sheet, and an old one at that'; but Cobet's conjecture **τωι** is attractive ('some old shroud'). **περιμάχητος ταῖς γαλαῖς** 'to be fought over by ferrets', an ironically bathetic phrase: the corpse of a Hector is fought over by his surviving comrades, but that of a rich man is abandoned as prey (not to the dogs and birds of *Iliad* 1.4–5, but) to ferrets. Weasels, polecats and ferrets, along with cats, were used as domestic mousers: Diggle on Thphr. *Char.* 16.3. Whether these creatures will steal the old cloth for bedding (*Theoc.* 15.28) or actually nibble the corpse is not stated. Pathologists attest that a cat immured with its dead owner will gnaw the hand that fed it; and the heart of Thomas Hardy, removed for separate interment, is said to have been eaten

by his cat, which was perhaps killed and buried in its place. οἱ ἐπελπίσαντες 'those with expectations' of a legacy. ἐμέ is governed by περιμένουσι. ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ: Lucian seems to have combined earlier Greek with later Roman practice. In the Greece of Timon (5th cent. BC) it was usual for the will to be read, as here, immediately after death, but in private in the presence of witnesses; in Rome it was read before a magistrate some time later (see n. on ἐς δέλτον . . . above). ὥσπερ . . . τετριγότες οἱ νεοττοί: another Homeric reference: Achilles, speaking of the thankless labour he has expended on behalf of the Greeks, says ὥς δ' ὄρνις ἀπτήσιν νεοσσοῖσι προφέρησι | μάστακ' ἐπεί κε λάβησι, κακῶς δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλει αὐτῇ, | ὥς καὶ ἐγὼ . . . (Il. 9.323–5; cf. 2.311–16). Lucian has specified a swallow, the bird looked for with most anticipation by humans as herald of spring (PMG 848). Juvenal uses a similar image when he speaks of a man gaping after a dinner: *ipse ad conspectum cenae diducere rictum | suetus hiat tantum ceu pullus harundinis, ad quem | ore uolat pleno mater ieiuna* (10.230–2).

22 καταπύγων: a passive male sexual partner; cf. *Book-collector* 23. ἐκ παιδικῶν τίμιος 'dear to him since the time he was his lover'. The expression τὰ παιδικὰ is commonly used of a boy who is the sexual partner of an older man. Here ἐκ παιδικῶν mocks ἐκ παίδων, 'since childhood', a phrase which might be found in a will introducing a legacy to an old friend. ὑπεξυρμένους ἔτι τὴν γνάθον: though now an adult he still tries to appear boyishly attractive by shaving his beard. ποικίλων καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἡδονῶν: ingeniously varied sexual activities. ἤδη ξωρός ὢν 'although he was by then too old' for such performances. ὁ γενναῖος 'the noble fellow'; heavily sarcastic. αὐτῇ δέλτωι 'will and all': LSJ αὐτός 1.5. Wealth is inseparable from the will: 21 ἐς δέλτον ἐμβαλόντες με. Πυρρίου . . . μετονομασθεῖς: it was common practice for Athenian slaves to change their names on gaining freedom; particularly, no doubt, if their slave name had a servile sound: Diggle on Thphr. *Char.* 28.2. Although there was no strict division between the names of slaves and those of citizens, types of name suggesting for instance a bodily characteristic, a function or an ethnic origin were commonly given to slaves: Πύρριος = redhead, Δρόμων = runner, Τίβειος = Paphlagonian (Str. 7.3.12). Compound names, on the other hand, seem to have had aristocratic associations, and those containing elements such as μεγα-, πρωτ-, ἀρχ- and -κλης might seem particularly grandiloquent. At Ar. *Clouds* 60–74 Strepsiades tells how he argued with his high-born wife over the naming of their son; she, a daughter of Megacles, favours Xanthippus, Charippus or Callipides, while her frugal husband prefers the humbler Phidionides. Megacles was a name particularly associated with the grand Alcmaeonid family (Dover on *Clouds* 460), Megabyzus was an aristocratic Persian name, and Protarchus is a resounding compound. τοὺς . . . κεχηνότας: open-mouthed anticipation. ἀληθῆς ἄγοντας τὸ πένθος: they are unfeignedly grieving – at their own disappointments. Cf. Juv. 13.134 *ploratur lacrimis amissa pecunia ueris*. οἷος 'because such a . . .'. For the 'indirect exclamation' see LSJ 11.2. ὁ θύννος: chosen

because it was thought big, fat and stupid, with a large gape. Oppian in his poem on fishing says that tuna actually force their way into the nets (*Hal.* 3.596–604). σαγήνης: a large drift-net or seine, pulled together to enclose a shoal. οὐκ ὀλίγον τὸ δέλεαρ καταπιών: while alive the testator devoured presents from spongers who hoped to inherit; they each thought they had him 'hook, line and sinker'. δέλεαρ suits fishing with rod and line, but not the net-imagery.

23 ἐμπεσῶν ἀθρόως: the water imagery is resumed. παχύδερμος 'stupid', but also literally thick-skinned because often beaten as a slave. ἄλλως 'randomly', i.e. with no reference to him. His reactions betray his servile origin. ὄρθιον ἐφίστας τὸ οὖς 'pricking up his ears'. τὸν μυλῶνα ὥσπερ τὸ Ἀνάκτορον προσκυνῶν: as a punishment slaves were put to the mill, in which the giant stone was usually turned by mules. The worthless ex-slave is so used to such treatment that he reveres his mill as others would a temple. τὸ Ἀνάκτορον was used with particular reference to the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis (e.g. Hdt. 9.65.2), so that the slave's awe becomes analogous to that of a worshipper at the Mysteries; προσκυνῶν refers both to this and to the necessary back-breaking posture. οὐκέτι φορητός ἐστι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν: those whom he meets now find his behaviour unbearable. ἄχρι ἄν 'until such time as' (with ἐκχέη): LSJ ἄχρι 11.1. He will waste his money with a prostitute or in horse-breeding or among flatterers. ἐς πορνίδιον τι ἐμπεσῶν 'falling in with some prostitute'; cf. 24 περινοστών ἄχρι ἄν λάθω τι ἐμπεσῶν and ἐς τοὺς τοιούτους ἐμπίπτων. ἵπποτροφίας ἐπιθυμήσας: keeping horses for racing or as cavalry was an expensive and characteristically aristocratic activity. At the beginning of *Clouds* Strepsiades finds himself almost ruined by the expensive hobby of his horse-mad son Phidippides; cf. Diggle on Thphr. *Char.* 23.7. ὀμνύουσιν 'swearing that' (dative participle). ἦ μὲν, 'indeed', introduces solemn affirmations and promises in direct speech, and is retained in the accusative and infinitive construction with verbs of swearing. Νιρέως: Nireus was a by-word for good looks, being called by Homer κάλλιστος of the Greek contingent at Troy, Achilles alone excepted (Il. 2.671–4; cf. Hor. *Odes* 3.20.15). τοῦ Κέκροπος ἢ Κόδρου: according to some accounts, the first and the last kings of Athens. Cecrops seems to have been regarded as born from the soil of Attica, the best possible genealogy; Codrus was a direct descendant of Deucalion, and εὐγενέστερος Κόδρου was a proverbial phrase (Zenob. 2.6, iv 80–5 Bühler). ἐκκαίδεκα: *Lit. Prom.* 3 ὑπὸ ἑκκαίδεκα γυπῶν κείρεσθαι n. κατ' ὀλίγον 'little by little'. The sentence ends with unexpected sarcasm. One would expect Wealth to say that the dead man had worked hard and lived frugally to amass his riches, but he turns out to have been no more respectable than his heir.

24–30 A dialogue between Wealth and Hermes in which the nature of wealth and its attractions are discussed. An explanation is provided for the prosperity of the undeserving, and for mankind's inordinate desire for riches.

**24** αὐτά που σχεδὸν φῆις τὰ γιγνόμενα 'what you say is pretty accurate', literally 'somehow you say virtually the very things that happen'. αὐτόπους βαδίζεις 'go on your own feet'. The adjective, which is not found elsewhere, is opposed to 21 init. οὐχὶ τοῖς ἑμαυτοῦ ποσὶ βαδίζω τότε. There is probably a sound-play on αὐτά που σχεδὸν in the preceding sentence (Mackie). ἐφ' οὓς: the antecedent, if present, would be ἐκείνους, to be understood after διαγιγνώσκεις. οἷε γάρ: γάρ is ironical, the train of thought being '<You ask me that?> Ah! So you think . . .'. Cf. §27 init. Ἀριστείδην . . . Ἱππονίκου . . . Καλλία: Aristides, a leading Athenian statesman during the Persian Wars, was famed both for his justice and for his poverty. Callias (*OC*D 1), his cousin, was nicknamed λακκόπλουτος, 'pots of money'. Plutarch tells an anecdote which contrasts his wealth with Aristides' poverty (*Arist.* 25.4-9). In this family the eldest sons took the names Callias and Hipponicus in alternate generations. Tales of disreputable financial dealings were told about two of the Hipponici (Plut. *Solon* 15.9-11, Athen. 536f-537c). καταλιπὼν 'leaving alone': LSJ III.2.a. πλὴν ἄλλὰ at the beginning of a sentence = 'but' or 'however': LSJ πλὴν B.III.2. Cf. 26, 45, 48, 55. καταπεμφθεὶς 'sent down' from Olympus to earth. ἄνω καὶ κάτω πλανῶμαι 'I wander to and fro'; cf. Ar. *Birds* 3 ἄνω κάτω πλανύτομεν, Men. *Mis.* A 7 περιπατῶ τ' ἄνω κάτω. περινοσθῶν: this verb is used of Wealth's blind progress at Ar. *Wealth* 121, 494. λάθω refers grammatically to Wealth, but applies also to his recipient: neither party is really aware of what has happened. ἐπὶ 'on account of': LSJ B.III.1. τῷ παραλόγῳ τοῦ κέρδους: Hermes is the god of lucky gains: cf. *Dream* 9 ἔρμαιον n., 41 Ἑρμῇ κερδῶιε.

**25** κατὰ 'in accordance with': LSJ B.IV.1. καὶ μάλα δικαίως: sc. ἐξηπάτηται: 'and it serves him right': Men. *Dysc.* 602, fr. 602.13 K. A. δυσέυρετον οὕτω χρήμα: sc. ἀνθρώπους τοῦ πλουτεῖν ἀξίους. τοῦ βίου 'the world': LSJ III. δ Λυγκεύς: Lynceus, one of the Argonauts, had sight so sharp that he could see even beneath the earth (Ap. Rhod. 1.151-5, 4.1477-82). The reference here looks to Ar. *Wealth* 210: Chremylus there promises to restore Wealth's sight (see p. 161) and adds βλέποντ' ἀποδείξω σ' ὀξύτερον τοῦ Λυγκέως. σαγηνεύομαι 'am netted', recurring to the imagery in §22.

**26** ἔτι . . . καὶ τοῦτο 'this further point, too'. εἰρήσεται γάρ 'I hope you don't mind my mentioning it', an apologetic expression. Cf. *Sea Gods* 4.1 εἰρήσεται γάρ πρὸς σέ. βαρὺς ἐκ τοῖν σκελοῖν 'slow-moving because of your legs': LSJ ἐκ III.6. τυχόντας 'if they get you', conditional participle parallel to εἰ δὲ ἀποτύχοιεν. οὐκ ἀνέχεσθαι ζῶντας 'can't bear to carry on living'. In this meaning ἀνέχομαι normally has such a participle: LSJ C.II.4. In Classical Attic the negative in a result clause with the infinitive would be μή. καὶ ἐξ βαθυκῆτεα πόντον φεύγοντες ἔρριψαν αὐτοὺς καὶ πετρῶν κατ' ἡλιβάτων: Hermes alludes to a well-known passage of the moralising poet Theognis (c. 6th cent. BC), who tells Cýrnu that poverty is so bad that even suicide is preferable:

(πενίη) ἦν δὴ χρή φεύγοντα καὶ ἐξ βαθυκῆτεα πόντον ἰρίπτεῖν καὶ πετρῶν Κύρνε κατ' ἡλιβάτων (175-6). Lucian alludes to the passage again at *On Salaried Posts* 5 and *Apology* 10. βαθυκῆτεα: the word is found only in this poetic line. Some manuscripts of Theognis, and some other writers who quote the lines, have μεγακῆτεα, a word found in Homer. The meaning of the -κητ- element is obscure: some scholars link it with κῆτος, 'sea-monster', which suits μεγακῆτης well but not βαθυκῆτης; others suggest that it is from an otherwise unattested word κῆτος, 'a hollow'. φεύγοντες: from Theognis (quoted above). Some manuscripts have φέροντες, which makes poor sense (sc. αὐτούς?); others omit the participle altogether. ἔρριψαν αὐτούς: in the Theognis passage ῥίπτεῖν is intransitive (LSJ VII; cf. e.g. βάλλ' ἐς κόρακας), but in his paraphrase Lucian supplies the object. οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν 'not at all', 'not from the very beginning'. For this adverbial use see LSJ ἀρχή 1.c. εὖ οἶδα ὅτι: parenthetic: cf. 1 οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως. εἴ τι συνίης σαυτοῦ 'if you have any self-awareness at all'. κορυβαντιᾶν αὐτοὺς ἐρωμένῳ τοιοῦτῳ ἐπιμεμνηνός 'that they must be out of their minds to be mad for such a beloved as you'. The unusual word κορυβαντιᾶν, 'be frenzied like a Corybant (priest of Cybele)', points to the famous passage in Plato's *Symposium* where Alcibiades describes his passion for the ugly but fascinating Socrates: ὅταν γὰρ ἀκούω, πολὺ μοι μάλλον ἢ τῶν κορυβαντιῶντων ἢ τε καρδία πηδᾷ καὶ δάκρυα ἐκχεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων τῶν τούτου (215e). Another allusion to the same speech is in σὺ ἂν εὖ οἶδα ὅτι ὁμολογήσεις: Alcibiades challenges Socrates to deny his resemblance to the satyr Marsyas with the words οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἂν που ἀμφισβητήσας and adds ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ ὁμολογήῃς, μάρτυρας παρέξομαι (215b). The word ἐρώμενος, 'beloved', too, is particularly common in the *Symposium*. The attractions of lucre are being cynically likened to those of philosophical enquiry and knowledge of the truth.

**27** οἷε γάρ: sc. με. ἀλλὰ πῶς; 'But how could you not appear so?' κατέχουσι τὰ πάντα 'are rife everywhere', literally 'possess everything'. προσωπεῖον: the jewelled mask and fine garments represent wealth's superficial attractions. αὐτοπρόσωπον οἶόμενοι ὁρᾶν τὸ κάλλος 'thinking that they see beauty undisguised', literally 'with its actual face'. μὴ τυγχάνοντες: the participle has conditional force (hence negative μή): 'if they cannot have me'. κατεγίνωσκον αὐτῶν ἀμβλυώπτοντες τὰ τηλικαῦτα 'they would condemn themselves for being short-sighted to such an extent'. The admirers of wealth are as blind as the god himself.

**28** τί οὖν ὅτι 'what is it, then, that they . . .?' ἀφαιρῆται αὐτοὺς 'were to deprive them <of it>'. For ἀφαιρέομαι with double accusative see LSJ II.1. πρόοιντο: aor. mid. opt. of προίημι, 'throw away': 28 προέσθαι, LSJ B.5. μοι συναγωνίζεται 'come to my aid', literally 'contend along with me'. συμπαρεισέρχεται: παρεισέρχομαι is found elsewhere, but the triple compound seems to have been coined by Lucian for this passage: they go in with him and at

his side, being necessary concomitants of wealth and attributes of *nouveaux riches*. **ὁ Τῦφος** is first in the list as a word particularly associated with Cynic philosophy's derisive attitude towards wealth and power (LSJ 2, 3; see pp. 9–10). **ὀρέγεται τῶν φευκτῶν**: perhaps another reference to the pangs of Tantalus (cf. 18 ὥσπερ ὁ Τάνταλος n.). **δορυφορούμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν**: the participle is causal: 'because I am attended by them'. For the use with an abstract noun cf. Plato, *Rep.* 573a δορυφορεῖται . . . ὑπὸ μανίας. **ἢ ἐμὲ προέσθαι ὑπομείνειν ἄν** 'rather than <that he should> put up with losing me'.

**29 δραπετεύεις**: the word is used with an abstract subject at Plato, *Meno* 98a, where δόξαι are said to abscond from the ψυχῇ; cf. *Dream* 12 (Socrates and Sculpture). **ἰξώδης** 'sticky' (opposite of ὀλισθηρός): like ἰξός, bird-lime, made from the berries of mistletoe. **μυρία τὰ ἀγκίστρα ἐκπεφευκότες**: μυρία suggests that the image is of a clinging bur rather than of fish-hooks. **ὥς = ὥστε**. **ἐχειν** 'be able'. **ἔδει** 'there was need of': LSJ II.1.a.

**30 τούτου γε ἔνεκα** 'on that score'. **ἐπισκήψας** 'having commanded him': LSJ II.1. **ἐνδον μένειν**: it is a characteristic of treasure to remain immured. Wealth speaks as if he can give Treasure mundane orders not to answer the door while he is out. **ἐχόμενος τῆς χλαμύδος** 'keeping hold of my cloak', the traveller's cloak of the gods' messenger, here used to guide blind Wealth. The scene changes to Attica. **εὖ ποιεῖς** 'it's good of you to . . .': LSJ ποιεῶ B.I.3. **Υπερβόλωι . . . Κλέωνι**: Athenian demagogues not favoured by Thucydides and pilloried by Aristophanes as vulgar and self-serving.

**31 σκάπτει . . . γήιδιον**: there is probably an echo of Ar. *Peace* 569–70 ὥστ' ἔγωγ' ἦδη πῖθυμῶ καὶ τὸς ἐλθεῖν εἰς ἀγρόν | καὶ τριανοῦν τῇ δικέλλῃ διὰ χρόνου τὸ γήιδιον. **πλησίον**: adverb. **δορυφόρων** recalls 28 δορυφορούμενον, where the bodyguards or attendants of Wealth are described. **τὴν ταχίστην**: *Dream* 1 οὐκ εἰς μακράν n. **οὐ γὰρ ἂν . . . δράσαιμεν ἀξιόλογον** 'we can't possibly have any notable effect'. **ἀποδειλιῶμεν**: this verb is often used by Plato with reference to the necessity for moral courage (e.g. *Rep.* 374c).

**32–33** A brief dialogue between Hermes and Poverty, who prophesies that Timon will regret her departure.

**32 ποῖ τοῦτον ἀπάγεις**; 'Where are you leading this fellow off to?' **Ἀργειφόντα**: a Homeric epithet of Hermes, believed in ancient times to mean 'slayer of Argus', the many-eyed creature set by Hera to watch over Io. **νῦν**: emphasised by its initial position. Poverty is annoyed that Timon is to be corrupted again just when she has set him to rights. **ὁ Πλοῦτος ἐπὶ Τίμωνα**: sc. ἐπέμφθη. **τουτοισί**: the -i form is used to point out Wisdom and Toil, who are standing by (31). **ἀπέδειξα** 'have made': LSJ A.II.2. **ἀκριβῶς πρὸς**

**ἀρετὴν ἐξειργασμένον** 'now that he is perfectly accomplished with respect to virtue'. **ὅμοιον τῷ πάλαι** 'like his old self'. **ῥάκος γεγενημένον** 'reduced to a rag', a proverbial expression for a worn-out and hopeless individual.

**33 ἦι συνῶν** 'in whose company'. **πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποβλέπων** 'looking to, i.e. dependent upon, <no one but> himself'. **περιττά** 'superfluous', 'extravagant': LSJ II.2, 3. **ὥσπερ ἐστίν, ἀλλότρια** 'alien to himself, as in fact they are'.

**34–39** Hermes and Wealth approach Timon, who gives them a surly reception. Wealth defends himself against Timon's slanders, and Timon grudgingly accepts that he must become rich once more.

**34 ὦ κατάρτοι**: an insult common in Aristophanes and the orators. **ἐνοχλήσοντες** 'to vex': future participle of purpose. **οὐ χαίροντες** 'with impunity': LSJ IV.2. **ὕμᾱς . . . βάλλων τοῖς βώλοις καὶ τοῖς λίθοις** 'pelt-ing you with these clods and rocks'. The hostile reception is inspired by Men. *Dysc.* 83, where the slave Pyrrhias, fleeing from Cnemon the misanthrope, cries βάλλομαι βώλοις, λίθοις (cf. 120). **ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ** 'and may you prosper!', a phrase found in formal treaties and decrees but also in more colloquial contexts: LSJ τύχη III.4, Men. *Dysc.* 422. **οἰμώξεσθε** 'you'll be sorry!' a threatening phrase common in comedy. **καίτοι**: *Lit. Prom.* 4 καίτοι n. **μοι δοκῶ** 'I've a good mind to . . .': LSJ I.3.b. **μελαγχολᾶν**: cf. *Sigma vs Tau* 9 ὑπὸ μελαγχολίας n. Perhaps suggested by Men. *Dysc.* 89 (Pyrrhias speaking of Cnemon) μελαγχολῶν ἄνθρωπος οἰκῶ[ν ἐνθαδ]ί. **μή τι κακὸν ἀπέλθω προσλαβὼν** 'in case I leave with some extra trouble' (in addition to his blindness).

**35 μηδὲν σκαιόν** 'don't do anything stupid' (sc. ποιήσης). **ἴσθι Ἀθηναίων τὰ πρῶτα**: sc. ὦν: 'know that you are first of the Athenians': LSJ πρότερος B.II.3. **τὰ δ' ἄλλα** 'and in other respects'. **μηδενός**, not οὐδενός, because the participle has conditional force. **οὕτως . . . ἀπανθρώπως**: sc. ποιεῖς; cf. μηδὲν σκαιόν above. Menander's Cnemon is memorably characterised at the beginning of *Dyscolus* as ἀπάνθρωπός τις ἄνθρωπος σφόδρα | καὶ δύσκολος (6–7). **φέρω**: deliberative subjunctive. The quotation is from *Il.* 15.202, where Iris, a messenger from Zeus, is asking the enraged Poseidon whether he really intends to defy Zeus by continuing to fight. **εἰκὸς ἦν** 'it was natural (i.e. it is hardly surprising that) you should . . .'.

**36 ἀλλά** 'All right!' For ἀλλά used of 'reluctant acquiescence' see *GP* 19. **χάρις** 'thanks'; sc. ἐστί. **ἐπιβούλους . . . μῖσος . . . ἐπίφθονον . . . προδοτικῶς**: these words can apply also to a statesman, and foreshadow the explicitly political reference at the end of this long and passionate sentence. **μῖσος ἐπεγείρας** 'stirring up hatred'. The wealthy man is an object of hatred and

jealousy (ἐπίφθονον below). ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐμοῦ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀπαρτήσασά μοι τοῦ βίου 'making my hopes depend on <no one but> myself', i.e. teaching him self-sufficiency (αὐτάρκεια), both mental and physical, in place of his dependence on externals.

**37** φιλοπόνως ἐπεργαζόμενος . . . δικέλλης: cf. Men. *Dysc.* 526-8 (Sostratus describes his attempt at manual labour) ἐξαίρων ἄνω ἰ σφόδρα τὴν δίκελλαν, ὡς ἂν ἐργάτης, βαθύ, ἰ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐπεκείμεν φιλοπόνως. διαρκῆ: i.e. lasting, not likely to run out. ἡβηδόν 'from youth upwards', i.e. old and young alike. οἰμῶζειν 'go to hell'; cf. 34 οἰμῶξεσθε n. ἔα 'leave off': LSJ II.1. παράλαβε: this verb is used of 'succeeding by inheritance': LSJ I.1. οὔτοι ἀπόβλητά ἐστι τὰ δῶρα τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Διός: at *Il.* 3.65 Paris says that his physical attractiveness should not be spurned: οὔ τοι ἀπόβλητ' ἐστὶ θεῶν ἐρικυδέα δῶρα. βούλει . . . δικαιολογήσομαι 'would you like me to plead my case?' Some manuscripts have the deliberative aorist subjunctive -σώμαι, which would be normal in Classical Attic (*GMT* §287), but Lucian does not always observe the rule: cf. *The Ship* 4 ἐθέλεις . . . ἐπάνειμι; ἐπίτριπτοι 'damnable', a word familiar from Attic comedy (e.g. Ar. *Wealth* 275, 619). διὰ 'because of', i.e. 'as a favour to'.

**38** ἐχρῆν: for the tense cf. 35 εἰκὸς ἦν. πολλά . . . κατηγορηθέντα: πολλά is neuter plural, κατηγορηθέντα (sc. με) masculine singular. τί 'at all' (accented because of the following enclitic). προεδρίας: *Dream* 11 προεδρίας n. περίβλεπτος: cf. *Dream* 11 τῶν ὁρώντων ἕκαστος . . . δείξει σε τῷ δακτύλῳ. αἰδιδίμος 'celebrated': cf. *Dream* 12 ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης . . . παρὰ πάντων αἰδεταί. με . . . ὑπέβαλες 'subjected me': LSJ I.3. ἐγκαλέσαιμι σοι: for the omission of ἄν see *Dream* 8 οὐ . . . γένοιο n. προδεδωκα . . . ἀπελαθεῖς . . . ἐξωσθεῖς: betrayal, exile, expulsion: more political terminology. Cf. 36 μῖσος n. τό γε τελευταῖον: adverbial: 'finally'. ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἐξωσθεῖς τῆς οἰκίας 'ejected from the house head first'; cf. Men. *Sam.* 352 4 ἐκ τῆς δ' οἰκίας ἰ ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἐς κόρακας ὥσον τὴν καλὴν ἰ Σαμίαν. μοι προσενηνεγμένον 'having behaved towards me': LSJ προσφέρω B.I.4.

**39** ὡς ἔχεις 'just as you are': LSJ ἔχω B.II.2.a. σὺ δέ: addressed to Wealth. ὑπακούσεται γὰρ ἐμβοήσαντί σοι 'he <Treasure> will heed your summons'. ὑπακούειν is used of slaves coming at their master's call or in answer to a knock at the door (LSJ II.1); the imagery of Treasure's being slave and doorkeeper for Wealth is continued from 30 ἦν μὴ ἐμοῦ ἀκούσῃ βοήσαντος. Cf. 40 ὑπάκουσον Τίμωνι τουτωί. πειστέον . . . πλουτητέον: the speech gains humour from Timon's reluctance to accept what most would welcome; cf. οὐδὲν ἀδικήσας below. τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ πάθοι τις; 'What is one to do?': *Lit. Prom.* 7 τί ἂν πάθοιμι; n. ὁπότε οἱ θεοὶ βιάζονται: the whole expression sounds proverbial; it may be a paraphrase of a poetic line (Macleod).

**40** ὑπόσθηθι 'put up with it': LSJ B.II.2. καὶ εἰ 'even if'. διαρραῶσιν 'may split' (3rd pers. aor. pass. subj. of διαρρήγνυμι). The word is common in Aristophanes, especially in the optative form διαρραγείης (e.g. *Wealth* 279). ὑπὲρ τὴν Αἴτην: he goes to fetch the Cyclopes, as he was ordered in §19. ὡς δοκεῖ τεκμαίρομαι: the blind god infers Hermes' departure from the sound of his wings. τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ τῶν πτερῶν: see *Fly* 2 εἰρεσίᾳ συνεχεῖ n. μᾶλλον δὲ παῖε: modifying the previous imperative, περίμενε. Since παῖω can be used of knocking on a door as well as of striking the earth, there may be a continuation of the slave imagery (30, 39 nn.). παράσχεις ἑαυτὸν: it is not unusual for ἑαυτ- forms to be used for the second and third persons (K-G I 572). βαθείας: sc. γῆς, 'bringing it down deep into the earth' (cf. 41 ἐκ τοῦ βάθους, *Dream* 3 σκληρότερον . . . κατενεγκόντος, sc. τὴν σμινύην); or perhaps sc. καταφοράς, i.e. πληγῆς (cf. 53 ἄλλην and τρίτην, sc. πληγὴν), and for the plural Xen. *Anab.* 5.8.12 ἀνέκραγον ὡς ὀλίγας παῖσειεν, Dem. 19.197 ξαίνει κατὰ τοῦ νώτου πολλὰς. ὑμῖν ὑπεκστήσομαι 'I'll make way for you' (Timon and his treasure): LSJ II.3. Wealth leaves the scene.

**41-42** Timon uncovers treasure. His warm reception of the gold seems strange after his cool reception of the god. It is like an epiphany, and even his flinty mind is overwhelmed by its power. It does not restore his generosity, but it provides him with the opportunity for revenge.

**41** ὦ Ζεῦ τεράστιε: Zeus is τεράστιος primarily in connection with his sudden lightning-bolts (Ar. *Peace* 42); here Timon is thunderstruck at the sudden appearance of the treasure. See Cook II 1 (1925) 31 n. 7, 1211. φίλοι Κορύβαντες: the Corybants are associated primarily with mad frenzy (26 κορυβαντιῶν n.). Here they seem to represent the shock felt by Timon when he sees the treasure (this is the view of the scholia); or there may be an allusion to the etymology of their name from κρύπτειν (Roscher v (1890-7) 1607). Ἑρμῇ κερδῶι: on Hermes as god of windfalls see §24 τῷ παραλόγῳ . . . n. μὴ ἄνθρακας εὖρω: Lucian refers elsewhere to a proverb ἄνθρακες ὁ θησαυρός, used metaphorically of disappointed hopes (*Zeuxis* 2, *Lover of Lies* 32, *The Ship* 26, *Hermot.* 71); here, however, the treasure is literal. ἐπίσημον 'stamped', i.e. in the form of coins. ὦ χρυσέ, δεξιῶμα κάλλιστον βροτοῖς: a notorious line from Euripides' *Danae* (fr. 324 Kannicht, who lists quotations of it by other authors, including a translation by Seneca at *Epist.* 115.14); on Danae see §13 καθάπερ τὴν Δανάην n. Lucian cites the line again at *The Cock* 14. αἰθόμενον γὰρ πῦρ ἅτε διαπρέπεις καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν: Timon continues the flight of poesy inspired by the sight of gold with a quotation from Pindar's first Olympian ode, which famously begins ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ (omitted by Timon), ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς αἰθόμενον πῦρ ἰ ἅτε διαπρέπει νυκτὶ μέγανος ἕοχα πλούτου ('gold, like blazing fire by night, is conspicuous beyond (other) lordly wealth' tr. Kirkwood). Δία ποτὲ γενέσθαι χρυσόν: another reference to the story of Zeus's visiting Danae in a shower

of gold. ἀναπεπταμένοις τοῖς κόλποις: ambiguous, as Eng. 'with open arms'.

**42** καὶ τὰ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀναθήματα 'and his dedications at Delphi'. Croesus made numerous lavish offerings at Apollo's Delphic shrine (Hdt. 1.50-1), but he was deceived by an ambiguous oracle into a campaign that cost him his kingdom and his life. ὥς . . . ὥς: the first ὥς is exclamatory; the second apparently goes closely with πρὸς, 'in comparison with'. οὐδὲν ἄρα ἦτε: on ἄρα implying a late realisation of the truth see *Lit. Prom.* 2 μὴ ἄρα n. ὁ βασιλεὺς Περσῶν: the King of Persia is a figure more prominent in the fifth century BC, when the dialogue is set, than in the time of Lucian. τῷ Πανὶ τούτῳ ἀναθεῖναι: his mentioning the ἀναθήματα at Delphi leads to the idea that he should dedicate his mattock and cloak, symbols of rustic poverty, to Pan. This was a customary action upon retirement, and book 6 of the Greek Anthology contains many fictitious epigrams recording such dedications. The word τούτῳ suggests that a shrine of Pan is nearby, as is a shrine of the Nymphs frequented by Pan in the *Dyscolus* of Menander. In Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* Daphnis, upon discovering his true identity, dedicates his rustic accoutrements to Dionysus and the Nymphs and to Pan (4.26.2), who, as in Menander, has presided over the action of the story. καλόν: sc. ἐστίν. πυργίον: Timon's Tower is mentioned briefly by Pausanias, who locates it not near Mt Hymettus, but close to Plato's Academy (1.30.4). μόνῳ ἐμοὶ ἱκανὸν ἐνδισαῖσθαι: μόνῳ is emphasised: 'suitable for me to live in on my own'. Though rich, he will continue reclusive. τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ τάφον: this must have been the legend of Timon's Tower.

**42-44** The Misanthrope's Charter. Timon sets out his philosophy of life in language that echoes Athenian decrees as quoted in, for example, Demosthenes' *On the Crown* (though forgeries, these decrees would have been in texts used by Lucian). He will shun all society, pity no one, live in isolation, hold his own festivals, and even carry out his own funeral rites. In conclusion he resolves to cause individual Athenians to perish whenever he can. The official language of Timon's charter is discussed by Householder (1940) and more reasonably by Delz (1950) 134-50.

**42** (cont.) δεδόχθω δὲ ταῦτα καὶ νενομοθετήσθω 'let there be resolved and ordained'. Impersonal forms of δοκεῖν conventionally begin resolutions and decrees (ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ, τῷ δήμῳ, etc.). For the third person perfect imperative forms cf. Plato, *Laws* 799e δεδόχθω μὲν δὴ . . . τὸ ἄτοπον τοῦτο, 874d τὰ μὲν . . . νενομοθετήσθω. Ἐλέον βωμός: the Athenians proudly claimed to be the only city to have an altar of Mercy or Compassion (*Ara Clementiae*). It is described at length by Statius (*Theb.* 12.481-505); see Frazer on Paus. 1.17.1. κατάλυσις τῶν ἔθων 'a breakdown of my customary behaviour'. Throughout this passage the verbs ἔστω or ἔστωσαν are to be understood. καθάπερ τοῖς λύκοις: cf.

Eng. 'lone wolf', *Saturn.* 34 τοὺς μονιοὺς τῶν λύκων. φίλος εἰς Τίμων: he will be φίλαυτος.

**43** ἢν τινα ἴδω μόνον 'if I so much as catch sight of anyone'. ἀποφράς ἡ ἡμέρα 'that day is to be an unlucky one', literally 'unmentionable' (ἀπό + φράζειν). The thirteenth and the last three days of the Athenian month were considered ill-omened; official business was not transacted then, and private ventures such as voyages were not begun. Lucian's *Pseudologist* is a savage attack on a κίναιδος who is ignorant of the meaning of the word ἀποφράς. There it is said to be a quintessentially Athenian word, i.e. a good test of Atticist knowledge (12). See D-S II 173-4. ἀνδριάντων λιθίνων ἢ χαλκῶν μηδὲν ἡμῖν διαφερέτωσαν 'let them differ in no way from stone or bronze statues, as far as I am concerned'. In Menander's *Dyscolus* Cnemon, in his opening tirade, wishes that he had the power of Perseus to turn men to stone; in that case, he says, οὐδὲν ἀφθονώτερον | λιθίνων γένοιτ' ἂν ἀνδριάντων πανταχοῦ (158-9). Timon is here turning the tables on his former friends, who had ignored him as if he were an old gravestone by the roadside (5); see p. 000. κήρυκα . . . σπονδὰς: more terminology from official decrees: σπονδὰς σπένδεσθαι is to make a truce. It was the job of heralds to negotiate treaties; so Timon here declares a war that is ἀκήρυκτος, 'truceless'. ἡ ἐρημία: the solitude in which he will live; but also his isolation from mankind. φυλέται . . . φράτορες . . . δημόται: Timon renounces all political and social connections, membership of all organisations by which he is defined as a citizen. Phratries were old divisions of Athens organised according to family; phylai (ten groups of demes) and demes (139 territorial areas) were introduced by Cleisthenes in 508 BC as part of his democratic reforms. A citizen had to be a member of all three. See *OCD* s.vv. *phylai*, *phratries*, *demes*. φορτικῶν 'tiresome': LSJ II.1. ἀπαξ . . . δεδόχθω 'let it be resolved once for all that I shall . . .'. ἐαυτὸν δεξιῶσασθαι: the dying summoned their friends and relatives for a final farewell (for the handclasp cf. Eur. *Alc.* 191, Xen. *Cyr.* 8.7.28). Timon will, with misanthropic paradoxicality, say farewell to himself. στέφανον ἐπενεγκεῖν: it was a Greek custom to place funerary garlands, often of parsley, on corpses before burial: *On Grief* 11, D-S I 1526.

**44** γνωρίσματα 'tokens', i.e. symptoms, traits. δυσκολία, mentioned first, may hint at Menander's play as a source; but the adjective is common in Plato. σκαϊότης 'crotchitiness'. εἰ . . . ἴδοιμι . . . ἢν . . . παραφέρῃ: the optative and subjunctive seem to be used without distinction of nuance. πίττηι καὶ ἐλαίῳ κατασβεγγύναι: sc. δεδόχθω from §43. He will add fuel to the flames. τοῦ χειμῶνος 'in winter'. ἀντιλαβέσθαι δέηται: sc. με: 'should beg me to help him', 'to offer a helping hand'. ὠθεῖν καὶ τοῦτον ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν 'I am to shove him in head first': cf. 38 ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἔξωσθεις τῆς οἰκίας. βαπτίζοντα: sc. με. τὴν ἴσην: sc. δίκην or μοῖραν, if a noun is to be understood; cf. *Dream* 1 οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν n. ἐξηγήσατο τὸν νόμον 'proposed



the law' in political language, but also perhaps 'introduced this custom' of misanthropy. Cf. 45 παρανομήσομεν. Τίμων Ἐχεκρατίδου Κολλυτεύς: see §7 n. This is the name, patronymic and deme formula used in decrees. ἐπεψηφισεν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ 'put it to the vote in the Assembly'. Timon puts his isolationist philosophy into practice by introducing and approving the proposal himself.

**45** No sooner has Timon wished that his wealth were generally known than he sees crowds of spongers arriving hot-foot. He debates how he should receive them. The first is the parasite Gnathonides. Lucian's *Parasite* cynically raises sponging to an art form; cf. Damon (1997) 23-36. περὶ πολλοῦ ἂν ἐποιήσάμην 'I should have set great store by . . .': LSJ ποιέω A.V. διότι here = ὅτι (LSJ II), explanatory of ταῦτα. ἀγχόνῃ γὰρ ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα γένοιτο αὐτοῖς 'it would be enough to choke them!' This reference, together with ὀρέξας βρόχον below, are probably inspired by the story of Timon's hanging-tree; see p. 161. ἐπὶ τὸν πάγον τοῦτον ἀναβάς: he refers to a nearby rocky outcrop; cf. 58 ἐπὶ τὴν πέτρην ταύτην ἀνελθών. ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων 'from a commanding height'. The phrase occurs several times in Xenophon (LSJ s.v.). ἀκροβολιζόμενος continues the military imagery; cf. §3 ἦγες . . . ἐκχειρίαν n. τό γε τοσοῦτον 'to this extent at least'. παρανομήσομεν . . . ὁμιλήσαντες . . . δεχόμεθα: Timon shifts to the first person plural. καὶ ἄμεινον 'even better' (than seclusion). δεχόμεθα ἤδη αὐτοὺς ὑποστάντες 'let's stand firm now and await their attack': further military language: LSJ δέχομαι II.2, ὑφίστημι B.IV.1. Γναθωνίδης 'Chewson' (γνάθος = 'jaw'). Parasites called Gnathon are found in the *Colax* of Menander (whence in Terence's *Eunuchus*), in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, and elsewhere. ἔρανον: an interest-free loan raised from friends. Originally an ἔρανος was a dining-club to which those attending brought contributions; such clubs made charitable loans to members. See Diggle on Thphr. *Char.* 1.5. ὀρέξας βρόχον: he told Timon to go hang. But knowing about the new-found wealth will choke Gnathonides (ἀγχόνῃ). See §20 πρίσθαι βρόχον n. ἐμμεκῶς: perf. part. act. of ἐμέω, 'vomit'. ἐκτεπωκῶς is the expected participle, but vomiting by the caskful vividly suggests even greater gluttony and wastefulness.

**46** The utterly shameless Gnathonides is driven away with blows. οὐκ ἐγὼ ἔλεγον . . . ; 'Didn't I keep saying . . . ?' συμποτικώτατε: he hopes the parties are about to start again, as his next question shows. νῆ καὶ σύ γε 'The same to you'. τῶν νεοδιδάκτων διθυράμβων: guests at symposia were expected to be able to entertain their companions. Gnathonides hopes to please his host with a song from 'the latest dithyrambic performances'. These lyric choral songs in honour of Dionysus were performed competitively at Athenian festivals in the early to mid fifth century; later, various avant-garde poets introduced striking lexical and melodic innovations (Pickard-Cambridge (1962) 74). νεοδιδάκτος is 'recently produced': LSJ διδάσκω III. ἦκω κομίζων: he has managed to acquire a manuscript copy of the words and notation. ἐλεγεία

γε ἄισι μάλα περιπαθῶς: though few existing early Greek elegies are laments, the elegiac couplet was associated with grief and sadness, and the word ἐλεγείον was thought to be from ἔ λέγειν, 'to say "woe, woe"' (Suda ε774). Funerary inscriptions were often in this metre. προκαλοῦμαι σε τραύματος 'I summon you on a charge of wounding', legal terminology: LSJ τραῦμα IV. εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον: in Timon's time the Areopagus court tried cases of homicide (hence φόνου in the next sentence), wounding and arson ( *OCD s.v.*). ἂν = ἔάν. τὸ τραῦμα ἴασαι μικρὸν ἐπιπάσας τοῦ χρυσοῦ: a reference to the wound of Telephus, which gave rise to the proverb ὁ τρώσας ἴασεται (*CPG* II 762 3). Telephus was wounded by Achilles' spear, and was told by Apollo that he could be healed only by the one who had wounded him. Achilles cured him by sprinkling rust from the spear into his wound, and in return Telephus guided the Greek fleet to Troy. The most famous treatment of the story was by Euripides in his *Telephus*, now lost. See Apollod. *Epit.* 3.17 20. Here gold, not rust, is to be the wonderful panacea: Gnathonides will welcome an out-of-court settlement. ἴσχαμον 'styptic' to stop (ἴσχειν) bleeding. ἔτι γὰρ μένεις; 'Are you still here?' For γάρ in incredulous questions see *GP* 77 8. οὐ χαίρεις 'you'll be sorry': LSJ χαίρω II. ἐκ χρηστοῦ: cf. 8 χρηστότης ἐπέτριψεν αὐτόν, 10 κἄν . . . ὑπὸ χρηστότητος αὐθις ἐκδιώκη αὐτοὺς τῆς οἰκίας. γενόμενος: causal: 'for becoming so . . .'.

**47-48** The sponger Philiadēs, whose name shows that he represents false friendship, warns Timon against flatterers and says he was coming to provide a loan. He, too, gets a taste of the trusty mattock. Philiadēs' tactic of flattery is to pretend that his gift of money and his willingness to provide robust advice are the result of his disinterested care for Timon. Plutarch, in his treatise *How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend*, gives many examples of similar behaviour.

**47** ὁ ἀναφαλαντίας 'the bald-headed chap' (φαλός = 'white', φάλανθος = 'bald in front'). The implication may be that he is one of the professional buffoons, who traditionally had shaven pates: *Symposium* 18, Mayor on *Juv.* 5.171. τῇ θυγατρὶ προῖκα δύο τάλαντα 'a two-talent dowry for his daughter'. A poor girl without a dowry could not hope to marry well. Timon has been generous in providing for her at all, and doubly generous in providing lavishly: one talent was a very respectable sum (Diggle on Thphr. *Char.* 28.4). αἰσαντά με πάντων σιωπώντων 'when I sang a song and no one else remarked on it'. ὠιδικώτερον . . . τῶν κύκνων: the ancients thought the swan's song particularly tuneful: *Amber* 6, Dunbar on *Ar. Birds* 769. ὁ γενναῖος 'this fine fellow': ironical. προσεντέινειν: ἐντέινειν is used of inflicting blows (LSJ IV), and προσεντέινειν is found in §12 of Demosthenes' famous speech *Against Meidias*, where προσ- implies that the blows were in addition to other outrages (Macdowell ad loc.); here they are in addition to Philiadēs' unfriendliness and refusal to help.



**48** γνωρίζετε 'deign to acknowledge': cf. 5 οὐκέτι οὐδὲ γνωρίζομαι πρὸς αὐτῶν. μετριάζομεν 'behave moderately'. ὅπως '<make sure> that' + fut. indic.: LSJ A.III.8, GMT §§271-83. ὦ δέσποτα: Philiadēs immediately shows the hypocrisy of his previous statement by using a form of address suitable only for slaves when speaking to their masters. τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης μόνον 'those who are friends only at your table'. κοράκων: for the word-play see 8 κόραξι καὶ λύκοις π. τὰ ἄλλα 'in other respects'. πιστευτέα: in the impersonal gerundive construction the neuter singular or the neuter plural can be used: GMT §923. τὰ κατεπείγοντα 'your urgent needs'. ταῦτά σε νουθετήσων 'to give you this advice' (to beware flatterers). καὶ τῷ Νέστορι 'even to Nestor himself', who was the most experienced and wisest in counsel of the Greeks at Troy. ἔσται ταῦτα 'Certainly!' (i.e. I shall be happy to take your advice). ὥς καὶ σὲ φιλοφρονήσωμαι τῇ δικέλλῃ: καὶ σὲ may mean 'you, too' (in addition to Gnathonides), but probably the meaning is 'so that I can do you a favour in return – with this mattock!' ἄνθρωποι: Philiadēs, too, appeals to witnesses, claiming that he has been punished only for telling the truth. Cf. 46 μαρτύρομαι. κατέαγα τοῦ κρανίου: the perfect active of κατάγνυμι is used in passive sense, and the genitive is partitive: 'I've got a wound in the head!': LSJ π.

**49-53** The orator Demeas ('man of the people') arrives with a grossly flattering but preposterous decree which votes Timon extraordinary honours. He, too, is driven off with blows.

**49** συγγενῆς ἡμέτερος εἶναι λέγων 'going on about being a relative of mine' (not 'claiming to be . . .', as the following dialogue shows). ἐδέδετο 'had been put in chains', perhaps as a bondsman to his creditor. Gaol sentences were not used as a punishment in Athens. οὐκ ἀποδιδούς 'for non-payment'. ἔλαχεν . . . διανέμειν τὸ θεωρικόν: the Theoric Fund was established (not perhaps during the putative lifetime of Timon, but in the mid fourth century) to provide money for poor citizens to attend the theatre (θεωρεῖν = be a spectator). The fund was administered by a board of officials, and the present passage implies that in each of the ten tribes a citizen was chosen by lot to make the distribution. This seems to be a mistake: the money was probably handed over at the headquarters of each deme: Dem. 44.37, Buchanan (1962) 30 n.2, 90 1. τῇ Ἐρεχθίδι φυλῇ: Lucian seems to have made another mistake here: Timon's deme, Collytus, was in the tribe of Ajax, Αἰγιῆς, not in that of Erechtheus. (The ten tribes were named after famous Attic heroes.) τὸ γινόμενον 'the payment due to me': cf. *Dream* 9 ἀποφέρων αἰεὶ τὸ γινόμενον π. The amount was small (two obols).

**50** μέγα ὄφελος . . . ἔρεισμα . . . πρόβλημα: portentous and high-flown language recalling hymns of praise and panegyrics. For μέγα ὄφελος, 'safeguard', cf. Aeschines 2.24 τὸ μέγα ὄφελος τῆς πόλεως (apparently a quotation from

self-praise by Demosthenes); for ἔρεισμα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, 'mainstay of Athens', cf. Pindar, *Olympian* 2.6 Θήρων ἔρεισμ' Ἀκράγαντος (a lyric poem addressed to Theron, tyrant of Acragas in Sicily), fr. 76 Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα κλεινοῖ Ἀθῆναι (quoted by Lucian at *Encomium of Demosthenes* 10). The word πρόβλημα, 'bulwark', is not used in this way in extant Greek literature, but it is close in meaning to ἔρεισμα. The definite article with all three expressions implies that they are known phrases; it is the equivalent of quotation marks. τοῦ γένους 'our family': Demeas is a relation (49 συγγενῆς ἡμέτερος). ὁ δῆμος συνειλεγμένος 'the assembled people', i.e. the Assembly (Ἐκκλησία), consisting of all adult male citizens. πάλαι . . . περιμένουσι 'have long been waiting for you'. αἱ βουλὰὶ ἀμφοτέραι: the Areopagus, which in fact would have had nothing to do with this decree for Timon, and the Council of 500 members chosen by lot (fifty for each tribe), which proposed business for the Assembly. Of course all three bodies could not meet at once, since membership overlapped; the point is to illustrate Athenians' universal obsequiousness towards the rich. τὸ ψήφισμα: the decree is couched in the conventional language of such proposals, many of which survive as inscriptions; their formulaic expressions are analysed by Veglianni-Terzi (1997). Demeas' decree is modelled on that quoted in Demosthenes' *On the Crown* (cf. 42 4 n.); there Demosthenes is voted the usual single gold crown because of his dedication to the welfare of the city and his financial contributions, and he is to receive it ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγωιδῶν καινοῖς (a non-standard detail which confirms *On the Crown* as source). γέγραφα 'I have proposed', 'drawn up': LSJ A.II.6. ἐπειδὴ: decrees often began with this word: 'forasmuch as'. καλὸς καγαθὸς 'a perfect gentleman' (LSJ s.v. καλοκαγαθός), a very common epithet of praise: see next n. διατελεῖ τὰ ἄριστα πράττων τῇ πόλει: standard decree language: cf. Dem. *On the Crown* 118 (cf. 42 4 n.) ἐπαινεῖσαι Δημοσθένην . . . ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ καλοκαγαθίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ εἰς τὸν δῆμον . . . νενίκηκεν: modelled on public votes of thanks for Olympic victors who have brought honour to their native cities. Timon has, it seems, won every competition, and all in a single day. τελείῳ ἄρματι 'in the horse-chariot' (as opposed to the συνωρίς πωλική pulled by πῶλοι, 'colts'): LSJ τέλειος 1.2.a, where are quoted inscriptions recording victories. οὐδὲ θεώρησα: the θεωροί were official representatives from Athens at the Games. Perhaps Timon uses θεωρεῖν in its common meaning ('I haven't even been a spectator'), while in his reply Demeas indicates that the honorand will soon be made an official θεωρός. τί οὖν; 'So what?' τὰ τοιαῦτα 'details of this sort', typical of gratulatory addresses. πρὸς Ἀχαρναῖς: Acharnae, the largest Attic deme, was ravaged by the Spartans in their invasion at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War in 431 bc (Thuc. 2.19.2). The sufferings of the inhabitants form the background to Aristophanes' play *Acharnians*, produced in 425. Here Timon is credited with great valour in the skirmishing. δύο μοῖρας 'two brigades'. The μοῖρα or μόρα was a large unit of the Spartan army (Xen. *Lac.* 11.4). It has been suggested that there is an allusion here to a notable feat of the Athenian general Iphicrates, who famously cut down

(κατέκοψε) a Spartan μόρα in 390 BC (Hemsterhuis, quoting Dem. 23.198, Plut. *Ages*. 22.2). If this is the case, then Timon has gone one better.

**51** διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ὄπλα: Classical Athenian hoplites provided their own equipment; Timon was naturally too poor to do this. οὐδὲ προϋγράφων ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ 'I was not even entered on the muster-roll', a list of those liable for military service kept by the ταξίαρχος of each tribe: Ar. *Knights* 1369-70, LSJ κατάλογος III.2.a, D-S II 206-12. μέτρια τὰ περὶ σαντοῦ λέγεις: Demeas affects to believe that Timon is merely being modest. ὠφέλησε τὴν πόλιν: cf. 50 ὄφελος n. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅπασιν 'for all these reasons': LSJ ἐπὶ B.III.3. δεδόχθαι: the perfect infinitive is seen in decrees elsewhere (Dem. *On the Crown* 29, 54-5, 84, 118, Lucian, *Assembly of the Gods* 15). τῇ Ἡλιαίᾳ κατὰ φυλάς: the pool of 6,000 paid volunteer jurymen who constituted the Heliaia was made up of 600 citizens from each of the ten tribes, and jurors were apparently selected by lot on a tribal basis for each court sitting (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 43.1). But the reason for approval being given here 'tribe by tribe' is not clear, and the conjecture καὶ ταῖς φυλαῖς, in series with τῇ βουλῇ and τῷ δήμῳ, is appealing. ἰδία καὶ κοινῇ 'individually and collectively'. On feminine adverbs see *Dream* I οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν n. παρὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν: beside Phidias' statue of Athena Parthenos in the Parthenon (cf. *Dream* 8 Φειδίας . . . n.). κεραυνὸν ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ ἔχοντα: i.e. accoutred like Zeus; cf. 4 δεκάπηχυν κεραυνὸν ἔχων ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ. The rich man wields Zeus-like power. ἀκτίνας ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ: the radiate crown of a type normally worn by gods of light such as Helios (*LIMC* IV 1.592-625, 2.365-84). χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις ἐπτά: the decree quoted in *On the Crown* 118, alluded to several times in these mock decrees, votes Demosthenes the usual single gold crown. καὶ ἀνακηρυχθῆναι τοὺς στεφάνους σήμερον Διονυσίοις τραγωιδῶν καινοῖς: further parody of the Demosthenic decree, which continues καὶ ἀναγορεύσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγωιδῶν καινοῖς. The crown is to be presented 'at the Great Dionysia, at the new tragedians', i.e. at the time when new tragedies were produced. Lucian assumes that in Timon's time the fourth-century practice of having competitions for new and old tragedies at the Dionysia was already in place. ἀχθῆναι γὰρ δι' αὐτὸν δεῖ τήμερον τὰ Διονύσια: the source text has τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην, but τήμερον is added for extra flattering effect, as the next clause explains. The Great Dionysia were always celebrated at the end of March, but in honour of Timon they are to be held immediately. εἶπε τὴν γνώμην 'proposed the motion': LSJ γνώμη III.2. συγγενὴς αὐτοῦ ἀγχιστεὺς καὶ μαθητὴς ὢν: Demeas leaves no claim unmentioned: he is a blood-relation and the next of kin (= legal heir), and, as pupil, he has inherited Timon's opinions and views (= spiritual heir). ὁπόσα ἂν ἐθέλοι: in Classical Attic the subjunctive would be expected; but cf. p. 6.

**52** ἐβουλόμην, 'I should have liked' (on the imperfect *GMT* §38), is a suitably vague idiom to allow for the ambiguity exploited by Demeas in his reply to the embarrassing question which follows. ἐπὶ τῷ σῶι ὀνόματι 'after you'. It was

usual for a boy to be named after his grandfather or another relative; this is servile behaviour. ὅσα γε καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι 'so far as I am aware, at any rate'. For the 'absolute infinitive' cf. *Dream* 16 ἔμοι δοκεῖν, *GMT* §778; ὅσα is adverbial acc. of respect. ἦν διδῶι θεός 'God willing': cf. LSJ θεός I.1.a. Τιμωνα ἤδη καλῶ 'I am already giving it the name Timon'. οὐκ οἶδα εἰ γαμησεῖς ἔτι 'I'm not sure you'll still be keen to marry'. He strikes him a blow in the wedding tackle. The verb γαμησεῖω is attested elsewhere only in Alciphron (an author familiar with the works of Lucian), and is conjecturally restored from the manuscripts' γαμήσεις. τυραννίδι . . . ἐπιχειρεῖς: in the fifth century tyranny in general, and descendants of the tyrant Pisistratus in particular, were feared, and the law naturally forbade any attempt at tyranny. In the plays of Aristophanes are found many cheap accusations of this type: see Henderson on *Lysis*. 616-35, Austin Olson on *Thesm.* 335-9, Dunbar on *Birds* 1074-5. οὐ καθαρῶς ἐλεύθερος οὐδ' ἄστος ὢν: Demeas reverts to the attitude he had when Timon was poor (49 οὐκ ἔφη γνωρίζειν πολίτην ὄντα με). For οὐ καθαρῶς ἐλεύθερος, 'not entirely a free man', i.e. a born slave, cf. *Tips for Orators* 24, LSJ καθαρός II.6. τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅτι 'for these reasons and in part because . . . '.

**53** τὸν ὀπισθόδομον 'the rear chamber', a state treasury on the west side of the Acropolis. See Sommerstein on Ar. *Wealth* 1193: the god Wealth is reinstated there at the close of the play. διώρυκται: the Classical Attic form would be διορώρυκται, with so-called 'Attic reduplication'. οὐδὲ οὗτος, like καὶ ταῦτα in the next clause, implies that this accusation, too, is false. διορυχθήσεται μὲν ὕστερον (and θεωρήσεις ὕστερον in §50): a similar joke to γαμῶ (52): he will make sure there is evidence of a break-in. ἄλλην: sc. πληγὴν: cf. 40 βοθείας n. κέκραχθι 'yell': perfect imperative form of κράζω found in comedy (e.g. Ar. *Wasps* 198). γάρ 'for <if you do>'. ἄνοπλος: cf. 51 διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ὄπλα οὐδὲ προϋγράφων ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ. γελοῖα . . . ἂν πάθοιμι 'I should be a laughing-stock if . . .'. The implied conditional accounts for μὴ (rather than οὐκ) ἐπιτρέψας. μάτην γὰρ ἂν εἶην καὶ νενικηκώς 'and my victory would have been in vain' (perfect optative). καὶ seems to link this achievement with the conquest of the Spartans. Professor E. W. Handley suggests καινὰ νενικηκώς, 'my novel victory'.

**54-55** The longest element in this crescendo of toadying humbug. Timon gives a long and circumstantial description of Thrasycles, a hypocritical philosopher who preaches abstemious virtue but practises depraved self-indulgence. Pseudo-philosophers of this sort, a feature of the second century AD rather than of Timon's era, are a familiar object of scorn and ridicule in the works of Lucian (e.g. *Symposium*).

**54** Θρασυκλῆς, as his name suggests, is bold and shameless (cf. 55 ἐνεκα . . . θρασύτητος). See *Fly* 5 οὐ θράσος . . . ἀλλὰ θάσος n. οὐ μὲν οὖν ἄλλος 'certainly it's none other'. For 'assentient' μὲν οὖν, common in Plato, confirming

or agreeing with a previous statement, see *GP* 476-7. **ἐκπετάσας . . . τὸν πώγωνα**: a beard, the bigger the better, is a prerequisite for any would-be philosopher. **τὰς ὀφρὺς ἀνατείνας** 'raising his eyebrows', implying haughtiness rather than deep thought. **βρενθυόμενός τι πρὸς αὐτόν** 'swaggering along full of himself'. The word βρενθύειν is used of Socrates in *Clouds* (362) and in a passage adapted by Alcibiades in Plato's *Symposium* (221b). **τιτανῶδες βλέπων**: implying gigantic powers and old-fashioned values. **ἀνασεσοβημένος τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ μετώπῳ κόμην** 'his hair tossed back from his forehead' (Harmon). Again the emphasis is on haughtiness: **σοβεῖν** is 'strut', 'swagger'. **Αὐτοβορέας** 'just like a Boreas'; cf. 27 αὐτοπρόσωπον n. Boreas was conventionally represented as winged, with hat and beard: *LIMC* III 1.133-42, 2.108-22. **Τρίτων**: the Tritons, companions of Poseidon, were sea-divinities with human bodies and fish-tails: cf. *Sea Gods* 14. **οἶους ὁ Ζεῦξις ἔγραψεν**: he is the picture of stateliness and solemnity. Nothing is known of these particular representations by Zeuxis, a fourth-century painter whose centaur group is praised at length by Lucian in *Zeuxis*. **ὁ τὸ σχῆμα εὐσταλὴς καὶ κόσμιος τὸ βάδισμα**: an expansion of the Platonic phrase **κόσμιος καὶ εὐσταλὴς ἀνὴρ** (*Meno* 90a). **σχῆμα** can refer to dress (*Dream* 13 **σχῆμα δουλοπρεπές**, LSJ 4.b), but here it perhaps characterises his general demeanour (LSJ 3). **τὴν ἀναβολήν**: see *Dream* 6 εὐπρεπής n. **μυρία ὄσα** 'countless precepts'. For the idiomatic use of ὄσος to intensify adjectives of number and quantity see LSJ 1.6. **τὸ ὀλιγαρκές** 'being content with little' (cf. pp. 9-10 on αὐτάρκεια). **ὁ παῖς**: the slave who waits at table. **λουσάμενος**: the usual time of bathing was before the evening meal. **τῷ ζωροτέρῳ** 'neat'. The Greeks diluted their wine, and drinking it neat was considered a barbarian custom (Hdt. 6.84.3, Diggle on Thphr. *Char.* 4.6). **καθάπερ τὸ Λήθης ὕδωρ ἐκπίων**: he clean forgets the sober precepts of the morning. Lethe is the River of Forgetfulness in the underworld. **ἴκτινος**: the black kite, a bird so rapacious that it even stole the sacrificial meat from altars (Dunbar on Ar. *Birds* 864 5). **παραγκωνιζόμενος** 'elbowing out of the way'. Here and in the following description there is a ludicrous contrast between the pseudo-philosopher's grave deportment in public and his bestial and boorish behaviour in private. **τῷ λιχανῶνι**: the forefinger was called λιχανός (sc. δόκτυλος) because it was used for this very purpose (λείχω = 'lick'; cf. 55 λιχναίος). **μυττωτοῦ**: a garlic paste sometimes eaten with fish: Olson on Ar. *Ach.* 174. **καταλίποι**: the subjunctive would be expected in Classical Attic after a primary verb (here ἐπιδείκνυται); see Sims (1952).

**55 μεμψίμοιρος**: 13 μεμψίμοιρος n. **μόνος τῶν ἄλλων** 'all for himself'. For **μόνος** + gen. see LSJ II.2. **ὁ τί περ λιχναίος καὶ ἀπληστίας ὄφελος** 'which is the height of gluttony and greed'. These words seem better as a description of what precedes (the whole loaf and pig) than as an introduction of what follows. In expressions such as **ὁ τί περ ἔστ' ὄφελος ἐν τῇ πόλει** (Ar. *Ecol.* 53) the meaning is 'whatever is of use in the city', i.e. the best citizen; here, by

extension, 'the best part, i.e. the pinnacle, of gluttony'. **οὐκ ἄχρι ὠιδῆς καὶ ὀρχηστῦος μόνον** 'not only to the extent of singing and dancing', unseemly though these may be. Symposia often ended with drunken dancing: Hdt. 6.129, Arnott on Alexis fr. 102.1 2. **ἐπὶ τῇ κύλικι** = 'over the wine' (Lat. *inter pocula*). **ἡδη** modifies **πονηρῶς ἔχων**: 'already in a bad way'. **ὑποτραυλίζων**: the drunkard's slurred lisping. **τὴν αὐλητρίδα ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιληνμένον** 'as he grabs hold of the flute-girl with both hands' (sc. χερσὶ): unseemly lust. **πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ νήφων** 'But even when he is sober'. **οὐδενὶ τῶν πρωτείων παραχωρήσειεν ἄν** 'he would yield the prize to no one': παραχωρεῖν is constructed with dative of the person yielded to and genitive of the thing retired from; τὰ πρωτεῖα = 'first prize'. **τὰ πρῶτα**: 35 ἴσθι . . . n. **ἡ γοητεία**: literally 'witchcraft', the ability to 'charm' gullible people with nonsense. **πάνσοφόν τι χρῆμα** 'a most learned creature'. Cf. Theoc. 15.83 σοφόν τι χρῆμ' ἀνθρώπος, LSJ χρῆμα II.3.a. The point is that he is a perfect paradigm of vice. **οὐκ εἰς μακράν** 'before long', 'shortly': LSJ μακράν II. **χρηστός ὢν**: ironical. **παπαί, χρόνιος ἡμῖν Θρασυκλῆς** 'Thrasycles! It's been a long time!': LSJ χρόνιος I.1.a.

**56-57** Thrasycles asks for support for his philosophy while affecting to care nothing for money. He, too, is driven off with blows.

**56 οὐ κατὰ ταῦτά**: *Fly* I ἐπτέρωται . . . n. **τοῖς πολλοῖς τούτοις**: derogatory: 'as this lot', the hopeful crowd descried by Timon in §45. **συνδεδρομήκασι**: cf. 45 πανταχόθεν συνθέουσιν. **τῶν ὄντων κοινωνικόν** 'ready to share what you have'. **μᾶζα**: i.e. basic unpretentious food. **θύμον ἢ κάρδαμον**: herbal ingredients of a meagre country diet: for thyme cf. *Fugitives* 14, Men. *Dysc.* 605, Ar. *Wealth* 253; for κάρδαμον (a plant with pungent edible seeds, not the modern cardamum) cf. Eubulus fr. 35.4 K-A. **εἴ ποτε τρυφῶνιν, ὀλίγον τῶν ἁλῶν**: salt, the most basic condiment, for him is a real treat. Plural, as often; the definite article gives the nuance 'on the table'. **ἡ ἐννεάκρουνος**: a famous Athenian spring originally called Καλλιρόη but renamed when channelled through nine pipes by Pisistratus (Thuc. 2.15.5 with Gomme's nn.). **τρίβων**: a coarse or threadbare outer garment (from τρίβειν, 'rub') worn by Socrates instead of the usual ἱμάτιον (Plato, *Symp.* 219b) and adopted particularly by Cynic philosophers (*Dialogues of the Dead* 20.2 4 contrasted with πορφύρις, Diog. Laert. 6.13). **ἥς βούλει πορφυρίδος** 'than any purple cloak you care to mention'. The relative is attracted into the case of its noun. **οὐδέν**: adverbial. **σοῦ . . . αὐτοῦ χάριν** 'as a favour to you', χάριν being used as a preposition: LSJ VI.1.b. **ἐστάλην** 'set out': LSJ στέλλω II.1. **ὄλον εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἐμβαλεῖς**: the Cynic Diogenes is said to have persuaded Crates to dispose of his wealth in this way (Diog. Laert. 6.87; cf. *Sale of Lives* 9). **οὐδὲν ἀναγκαῖον . . . ὄντα**: the participle is causal: 'since it is not at all necessary'. **φιλοσοφίας πλοῦτον** 'the riches of, i.e. to be derived from,

philosophy'.  $\mu\eta\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\iota\ \epsilon\varsigma\ \beta\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ : sc.  $\epsilon\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\iota\varsigma$ .  $\epsilon\varsigma\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\beta\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\varsigma$  'waist-deep'.  $\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\upsilon$ : he hopes to retrieve it, and to have no rival when he does so.

**57**  $\sigma\upsilon\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ : for the so-called apodotic  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  found usually after a pronoun in the apodosis of conditional sentences see *GP* 180. It is common in Homer, Herodotus and Xenophon.  $\xi\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\ \tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\pi\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\iota\nu\omega$  'as a better method': accusative in apposition to the sentence.  $\mu\eta\delta'\ \delta\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  'not devoting a single obol to yourself': LSJ  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\mu\iota$  11.6.  $\omega\iota\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ .\ .\ .\ \omega\iota\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ .\ .\ .\ \omega\iota\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ .\ .\ .$ : the demonstrative pronoun is sometimes used instead of the article with  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ .\ .\ .\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ .\ .\ .$ , chiefly in poetry in earlier Greek, but commonly in prose writers of Lucian's time.  $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ .\ .\ .\ \mu\upsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu\ .\ .\ .\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\nu$ : 6 obols = 1 drachma, 100 drachmas = 1 mna, 60 mnai = 1 talent.  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ : sc.  $\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}$ : 'he should rightfully take'.  $\iota\kappa\alpha\acute{\nu}\omicron\nu$ : sc.  $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ .  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\eta\nu\ \tau\eta\nu\ \pi\acute{\eta}\rho\alpha\nu\ \epsilon\mu\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\chi\omicron\iota\varsigma$  'fill this pouch and hand it to me'. The leather pouch, like the shabby cloak and staff, was an emblem of the ascetic philosopher.  $\sigma\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  'not even': he pretends that his request is a small one.  $\sigma\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \delta\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \delta\upsilon\omicron\ \mu\epsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma\ .\ .\ .$   $\text{A}\iota\gamma\iota\nu\eta\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\varsigma$ : in the Classical period the two principal standards for measures were the Euboic and the Aeginetan (used in Attica), and the Aeginetan units were smaller than their Euboic counterparts; so that Thrasycles' pouch is of modest dimensions, holding a mere 23 gallons (51 litres).  $\chi\omega\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$  'holding': LSJ 111.1.  $\mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho\ \tau\eta\nu\ \pi\acute{\eta}\rho\alpha\nu\ \phi\rho\omicron\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ : an adaptation of the proverbial phrase  $\mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho\ \tau\omicron\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\nu$  (a variant on  $\mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\nu$ : see *CPG* 11 80 2) prompted by the word  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  and exploited further in  $\epsilon\pi\iota\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ , 'giving full measure', and  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho\ \tau\omicron\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\nu$  in Timon's replies.  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon$  'come on, I'll . . .':  $\epsilon\mu\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega$  is aorist subjunctive: LSJ  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$  A. 1X.2.  $\kappa\omicron\nu\delta\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omega\nu$  'blows', usually blows from the knuckles or hand; but perhaps there is a pun on  $\kappa\omicron\tau\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omega\nu$  ( $\kappa\omicron\tau\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta$  = about 0.25 litres: LSJ 3).  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\rho\upsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$  'cheated', an Attic prose word (e.g. Dem. 6.23, 18.276).  $\chi\omicron\iota\acute{\nu}\iota\kappa\alpha\varsigma\ .\ .\ .\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\varsigma$ : the  $\chi\omicron\iota\acute{\nu}\iota\varsigma$  (1.08 litres) was notionally a man's daily corn ration.

**58**  $\text{B}\lambda\epsilon\psi\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\ .\ .\ .\ \text{L}\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\varsigma\ .\ .\ .\ \text{G}\nu\acute{\iota}\phi\omega\nu$ : names probably derived from Attic comedy. Blepsias is mentioned as a money-lender at *Dialogues of the Dead* 22.7, Gniphon as another at *The Cock* 30 and *Sale of Lives* 23; neither, however, is attested in extant comedy. Laches is a name known from several individuals in Classical Athens, and from the Platonic dialogue called after one of its participants (see also *Symp.* 221a); in Menander (*Heros* and elsewhere) and other writers of Later Comedy it is a conventional name for an old man.  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\ \tau\eta\nu\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\alpha\nu\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\eta\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\lambda\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$ : cf. 45  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\beta\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ .  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ : in contrast with the  $\delta\iota\kappa\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha$ : 'while I personally . . .'.  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ : the newcomers.

## VII DIALOGUES OF THE SEA GODS

If *Timon*, with its thunderous rhetorical opening denunciation, is as near as Lucian comes to epic style, then his four groups of very brief dialogues might be seen as a prose equivalent of books of epigrams. Each of these groups is given a distinctive character. The thirty *Dialogues of the Dead* are conversations set in the underworld, inspired perhaps by the eleventh book of the *Odyssey* and by the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, or by Socrates' anticipation of encountering the σοφοί after death (Plato, *Apol.* 41b-c); many feature Hermes in his role as conductor of souls and the Cynic philosophers Menippus and Diogenes, who encounter and interrogate famous Homeric, mythical and historical characters together with legacy-hunters and others, reflecting on the hollowness and vanity of human wealth, beauty and ambition. The fifteen *Dialogues of Courtesans* are inspired by New Comedy, being confidential women's talk on the relative merits of young men or on how to keep them, or lovers' conversations about rivals, misunderstandings and similar topics. The twenty-five *Dialogues of the Gods* are amusing sketches giving a divine perspective on some well-known stories. The arguments put forward are often highly ungodlike, and attention is drawn to awkwardnesses and inconsistencies in accepted versions of myth. The fifteen *Dialogues of the Sea Gods*, included here, draw their inspiration from Homer, from Hellenistic poets such as Theocritus and Moschus, and apparently from lost plays (including satyr plays) by the Attic tragedians. They too treat well-known traditional episodes from new perspectives and often with an undertone of cynically humorous questioning. Humorous treatment of the gods is found already in book 8 of the *Odyssey*, where Demodocus sings of the scandalous adultery of Ares and Aphrodite, and it continues in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, in Aristophanes, and in such Hellenistic poems as the *Hymns* of Callimachus. Lucian's dialogues are a fresh response to this strand in Greek literature. By combining traditional myths as narrated in earlier authors with a cynical approach which questions motivation in more contemporary terms, Lucian produces for his educated audience a witty conflict between the old and the new. In these dialogues well-remembered tales are re-read without sympathy for their generic conventions, so that love is presented as infatuation, absence as incompetence, abduction as rape. Just as in the *Dialogues of the Dead* the flesh is stripped away from those in the underworld so that all, even those once most beautiful, are reduced to a bony equality, so more generally in his work Lucian strips away pomposity, fine rhetoric and the trappings of success to reveal the vanity, poverty of thought and all too human failings and frailties beneath.

The arrangement of the dialogues within each group differs in different classes of manuscript. In *Sea Gods* the manuscripts are unanimous in their ordering of 1-4 and 12-15, but some present 5-11 in the order 7, 8, 11, 5, 6, 9, 10. The collection begins and ends with dialogues inspired by famous Hellenistic poems, perhaps in order to draw attention to a lightness of tone particularly associated with

Alexandrianism; but no subtle principle of arrangement has yet been suggested. Whether or not they were performed as a group is unknown.

### Bibliography

Edition: Macleod (OCT) iv 230–60. Text with commentary: Levy 89–118, 239–58. Translation: Macleod (Loeb) vii 177–237. General: Bompaire (1958) 562–85, 730–4, Branham (1989) 127–63.

### 1 DORIS AND GALATEA

The opening two dialogues feature the Cyclops Polyphemos. In the first Galatea is teased by the sea nymph Doris for having such a grotesque lover; in the second Polyphemos complains about his blinding to his father Poseidon. The first dialogue is inspired chiefly by Theocritus, the second chiefly by Homer.

The familiar Homeric story of Odysseus' ouwitting of the cannibal Polyphemos at *Od.* 9.105–564 contains no erotic elements. Galatea was introduced to the myth by Philoxenus (*PMG* 815–24), a lyric poet of about 400 BC who is said to have composed his work in revenge on Dionysius I, tyrant of Syracuse, who had imprisoned him in the stone quarries as punishment for an affair with the tyrant's mistress Galatea: Dionysius is said to have been represented in the poem as the unperceptive Cyclops, Galatea as the sea nymph of that name, and Philoxenus as the wily Odysseus. A memorable feature of the poem was a serenade of Galatea by Polyphemos to the accompaniment of the lyre (*PMG* 819). Philoxenus' work was clearly very popular. It was parodied by Aristophanes in the *Wealth* of 388 BC (5 κινάβρος n.), and it inspired two well-known poems of Theocritus (3rd cent. BC). Idyll 11 illustrates the idea that song is a useful palliative for έρως by quoting a love-song of the young Polyphemos, who is depicted as a naive Sicilian shepherd. Galatea tantalises him by her absence. In Idyll 6, by contrast, she seems to be in pursuit of Polyphemos. The poem is a singing-contest between two herdsmen in which one reproves the Cyclops for being backward in love and the other replies in the character of Polyphemos, claiming that he ignores Galatea only to whet her desire for him; he has seen his reflection in the sea, and reckons himself to be handsome (cf. 1 καλόν, 3 γαλήνη nn.). Both these poems are in the background of the first of Lucian's dialogues (1 ποιμένα . . . , λάσιος, 2 ποιμαίνων . . . , τὸ λευκόν . . . nn.). Ovid in book 13 of the *Metamorphoses* has a confidential conversation reminiscent of Lucian's between the nymphs Galatea and Scylla, in which Galatea reports a long serenade by a grotesquely uncouth and potentially violent Polyphemos (789–869). Lucian is unlikely to have read Ovid; but these dialogues take their place in a long series of treatments in Greek of the Cyclops story. On the *Cyclops* of Euripides see Seaford (1984) 51–9; on Cyclops comedies Arnott (1996) 139–51; on other treatments Hunter (1999) 215–23, Hordern (1999).

The first dialogue presents a type-scene familiar from comedy and the mime, a confidential conversation between two women about an affair (cf. *Dialogues of Courtesans*, Herondas 1, 6). It is set before the arrival of Odysseus, but the Cyclops already has a reputation for cannibalism (5): like Ovid's Polyphemos and unlike Theocritus', he is both savage and in love. He is represented through the words of both a sympathetic and an unsympathetic interpreter of his actions. This approach, together with the possibility of Galatea's liking Polyphemos, is already present in Theocritus 6: there the Cyclops' apparently naive behaviour turns out to be a premeditated tactic. Here a more jaundiced view seems to prevail: Doris is a cynical figure, and the *controuersia* on Polyphemos' attractiveness seems to go against Galatea. The Cyclops emerges from this conversation monstrous once more; he is ludicrous (3 καταγέλαστον), stinking, musically challenged. He is the antithesis not only of the charming nymph, whose love is strangely misapplied, but also of the ideal πεπαιδευμένος; similarly the Theocritean Cyclops, superficially at least, is the antithesis of the elegant Hellenistic poet.

1 ΔΩΡΙΣ: Doris appears in the same line as Galatea at the beginning of book 18 of the *Iliad* (45 Δωρίς καὶ Πανόπη καὶ ἀγκαλειτὴ Γαλάτεια). καλόν: the dialogue begins with a term prominent and contested in the Theocritean poems. Here it is ironical; in Idyll 6 Daphnis mockingly says ἡ γὰρ ἔρωτι | πολλάκις, ὦ Πολύφαι, τὰ μὴ καλὰ καλὰ πέφανται (18–19); to which Damoetas, in the person of Polyphemos, replies that he has looked at his reflection καὶ καλὰ μὲν τὰ γένεια, καλὰ δὲ μὲν ἅ μία κῶρα | . . . κατεφαίνετο, 'and fair seemed my cheeks, fair my single eye' (36–7). Here Doris takes as her starting-point the idea that 'beauty is in the eye of the beholder'; but, unlike in Theocritus, the admiring beholder is not Polyphemos, but Galatea. ποιμένα . . . ἐπιμεμηνέναι: in Idyll 11 the Theocritean Polyphemos is introduced shepherding his flocks and is described as loving Galatea ὀρθαῖς μανίαις, 'with real madness'; this in turn looks to *Od.* 9.350, where Odysseus says to Polyphemos σὺ δὲ μαινέαι οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτῶς. ὁποῖος ἂν ᾖ 'whatever he may look like'. ἄγριος is used of the Cyclopes at *Od.* 9.175, and of Polyphemos at 9.215. Here it seems to refer to an unkempt appearance rather than to savage behaviour. λάσιος: in Idyll 11 Polyphemos calls himself λασιώτερος, 'rather hairy', but feels that this disadvantage is outweighed by the attractions of his cave (50–1; cf. 31 λασία μὲν ὀφρύς ἐπὶ παντὶ μετώπῳ). οἶε τὸ γένος ἂν τι ὀνήσαι αὐτόν; 'do you think his ancestry would do him any good at all?' (ἂν + aor. infin. in indirect speech after οἶε, representing ἂν + potential optative in direct speech). πρὸς τὴν μορφήν 'in respect of his appearance': LSJ πρὸς c.iii.1. ὡς φῆς 'as you call it'. The broken structure of this sentence represents Galatea's indignation, and illustrates the truth of the maxim at Theoc. 6.19 (quoted on καλόν above) that love is blind. Galatea calls her lover's shaggy and uncultivated appearance manliness. οὐδὲν ἐνδεέστερον: if his sight were poor, her own beauty would be in question (2 ποιμένι . . . ἐνδεεῖ τὴν ὄψιν καλή). Sight, insight, self-awareness and judgment

are thematic already in the Theocritean versions of the story; Ovid's Cyclops says *certe ego me noui* (13.840). τῶι μετώπῳι: cf. Theoc. 11.31 (n. on λάσιος above). οὐκ ἐραστὴν ἀλλ' ἐρώμενον: i.e. she seems to be not the beloved, but the actively pursuing lover. The contrast is recurrent in Plato's *Symposium*, but the distinction is important also in Theocritus: the first song in Idyll 6 reproaches Polyphemus for his apparent neglect of courtship, but the second reveals that he is deliberately avoiding Galatea in order to encourage further advances from her. οἶα ἐπαινεῖς αὐτόν 'so many are the ways you praise him'.

2 ποιμαίνων ποτέ ἀπὸ τῆς σκοπῆς . . . ἰδών: in Idyll 11 the Cyclops is pictured gazing out to sea and singing of his love: καθεζόμενος δ' ἐπὶ πέτρῳς ἰ ὑψηλᾷς ἐς πόντον ὁρῶν ᾄδει τοιαῦτα (17–18). For ποιμαίνων cf. 11.80 ἐποίμαινεν τὸν ἔρωτα. ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος: cf. Theoc. 11.14 (of the Cyclops) ἐπ' αἰόνος κατετάκετο. καθ' ὃ 'in which place', 'where': LSJ κατὰ B.1.2. μόνῃι ἐμοὶ ἐπέειχε τὸν ὀφθαλμόν: the dual or plural would be normal: Eng. 'he only had an eye for me' rather than 'eyes'. For ἐπέειχε of directing one's attention see LSJ III.2. δεῖγμα . . . ὥς 'it shows (sc. ἐστὶ) that . . .'. ποιμένι καὶ ἐνδεεὶ τῇν ὄψιν 'a shepherd, and one with poor eyesight to boot'. τὸ λευκόν . . . τυρῶι . . . γάλακτι: the Cyclops begins his monody at Theoc. 11.19 20 with word-play on the name of Galatea: ὦ λευκά Γαλάτεια . . . ἰ λευκοτέρα πακτᾶς ποτιδεῖν (πακτᾶ = sēt cheese); and he emphasises the attractions of his milk and cheese (35, 65 6 γάλ' ἀμέλγειν . . . τυρὸν πᾶσαι). His cheese production is a memorable feature in the Homeric account (*Od.* 9.246 9).

3 τά γε ἄλλα 'in other respects' than her fair complexion. For human females white skin, as a sign of seclusion and therefore of not having to work outdoors, was a desirable feature; for a sea nymph the white sea foam is perhaps an additional factor. γαλήνη . . . ἰδὲ σεαυτὴν: in Theocritus it is Polyphemus who uses the sea as a mirror: ἡ γὰρ πρῶν ἐς πόντον ἐσέβλεπον, ἧς δὲ γαλάνα (6.35); he goes on to say that his teeth appeared 'whiter than marble' (37 8). καὶ τὸ ἐρύθημα: the best complexion, says Doris, is 'peaches and cream', but Galatea, as her name implies, is cream and nothing else (ἀκριβῶς = 'pure and simple': cf. ἀκράτως below). κᾶν 'even if it's only him': cf. *Timon* 20 οὐδὲ κᾶν ὄνος n. τὰ τε ἄλλα 'as well as his other qualities'.

4 ἐκώμασε: the hideous performance is perhaps inspired by the opening line of Theoc. Idyll 3, where a boorish rustic's serenade of a nymph begins κωμάσδω ποτὶ τὰν Ἀμαρυλλίδα. ὄνον ἂν τις ὀγκᾶσθαι ἔδοξεν 'one would have thought an ass was braying'. There is probably an allusion to the famous prologue of Callimachus' *Aetia*, where the poet says he prefers the sweet sound of the cicada to the θόρυβον . . . ὄνων and continues θηρὶ μὲν οὐατῶεντι πανεῖκελον ὀγκᾶσαιτο ἰ ἄλλος (30 2). αὐτὴ . . . ἡ πηκτίς: the description of the lyre is reminiscent of a well-known passage in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, where the

precocious infant god makes the first lyre from a tortoise shell, oxhides, reeds and sheep-gut (47ff.); cf. *Dialogues of the Gods* 11.4. Polyphemus' do-it-yourself lyre is equally ingenious but less refined: its sounding-board is the skull of a deer, its arms are the horns (still attached), and its strings cannot be adjusted. There is a depiction of Polyphemus with a rustic-looking five-string lyre at *LIMC* VIII 2.675. Lucian follows Philoxenus in having the Cyclops play a lyre (Ar. *Wealth* 290 and schol. = *PMG* 819); in Theocritus he plays a pipe (6.9, 11.38), in Ovid a pipe of gigantic proportions (*Met.* 13.784 6). The reference to the donkey in the previous sentence suggests an allusion here to the proverbial phrase ὄνος λύρας (sc. ἀκούει) commonly applied, like 'pearls before swine', to those who are ἀναίσθητοι, ἀπαίδευτοι, ἄμουσοι (*Book-collector* 4, *CPG* 1 291). οἶα: sc. ἐστὶ. The sentence may be punctuated as a question or as an exclamation (cf. 2.1 οἶα πέπονθα). τὰ μὲν κέρατα πῆχεις ὥσπερ ἦσαν 'its horns <served as> the arms, just as they were', i.e. without being detached, polished and otherwise prepared. Cf. *Hom. Hymn to Hermes* 50 πῆχεις ἐνέθηκε. ζυγώσας δ' αὐτά: the ζυγόν is the cross-bar or bridge linking the arms of the lyre: *Hom. Hymn to Hermes* 50 ἐπὶ δὲ ζυγὸν ἦραρεν ἀμφοῖν. κολλάβοις: the pegs around which the strings were wound to allow adjustment of their tension. The more usual word is κόλλωψ (*Hom. Od.* 21.407, Plato, *Rep.* 531b), and κόλλωπι is in some manuscripts here. In the *Homeric Hymn* the seven strings are said to be σύμφωνοι (51). ἀπωιδόν: the epithet is used of the blinded Polyphemus' ravings at Eur. *Cycl.* 490. ἄλλο μὲν αὐτὸς βοῶν, ἄλλο δὲ ἡ λύρα ὑπῆχει 'partly solo, at the top of his voice, in part with the lyre accompanying'. οὕτω λάλος οὔσα: concessive. Echo is characterised as a garrulous woman. The adjective is of two terminations.

5 ἄρκτου σκύλακα ἄθυρμάτιον 'a bear-cub as a little plaything', presumably for Galatea as at Theoc. 11.40–1 τράφω δὲ τοὶ ἑνδεκα νεβρώς, ἰ . . . καὶ σκύμνω τέσσαρας ἄρκτων; imitated also by Ovid, *Met.* 13.834–7 *inueni geminos . . . ἰ inter se similes . . . ἰ uilloae catulos . . . ursae; ἰ inueni et dixi 'dominae seruabimus istos'*. The word ἄθυρμάτιον is suggested by the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, where the completed lyre is called ἐρατεινὸν ἄθυρμα (52). τὸ λάσιον 'in shagginess', acc. of respect. τίς οὐκ ἂν φθονήσῃ σοι . . . ; highly ironical. δῆλον ὅτι: parenthetical, for δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι (LSJ δηλονότι); cf. 2.2, 12.2 and the similar conversational forms οἶμαι, οἶδ' ὅτι, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως. οὐδὲ σεμνύνομαι ἐπέραστος εἶναι 'nor do I pride myself on being attractive'. κινάβρας ἀπόζων ὥσπερ ὁ τράγος: κινάβρα, like γράσος, means 'goatish smell'. Smelly armpits were proverbially described as goatish, and the detail of Polyphemus' smell was probably in Philoxenus: at *Wealth* 290 5 Carion, τὸν Κύκλωπα μιμούμενος, refers to αἰγῶν κινάβρωντων μέλη, and Synesius, in a letter full of allusions to Philoxenus, is afraid μὴ τῶν κωιδίων ὁ γράσος ἀηδὴς γένηται κόρηι τρυφώσῃ καὶ λουομένη τῆς ἡμέρας πολλάκις, 'in case the smell of the fleeces disgusts a delicate girl who washes several times a day' (*Epist.* 121 = *PMG* 818). The simile is appropriate

not only because Polyphemus is a shepherd, but because he-goats are associated with rampant and unsubtle sexuality (Theoc. 1.151–2). In a generalisation of this sort the plural (as conjectured by Hemsterhuis) or τράγος τις might have been expected; but the definite article probably gives the nuance ‘his billy-goat’: cf. *Sea Gods* 2.3 τῶι κριῶι, ‘his ram’. τῶν ξένων: ξενία is thematic both in the Cyclops story (*Od.* 9.176, 229, 252, 370, 478, 517) and in the *Odyssey* as a whole. ὠμοβόρος, ὥς φασι: has Doris been reading Homer? In Theocritus Polyphemus is young; his cannibal tendencies are not mentioned, and Odysseus’ arrival is still in the future (11.60–2). πάντοτε, ‘always’, is common in the *koine* and in the New Testament, but does not occur in Classical Greek; it was said by experts not to be good Attic (Phryn. §82, Moeris 319). ἀντερῶνις: the goodwill wish for mutual love is ironised when applied to ill-matched lovers like these.

## 2 THE CYCLOPS AND POSEIDON

A conversation between Polyphemus, who gives an account of his recent blinding by Odysseus, and his father Poseidon, who seems to treat his son’s plight with amused condescension. If the setting of the previous dialogue was inspired by Alexandrian poetry, this one closely follows Homer in its account of the blinding. The story is told from Polyphemus’ perspective; this is a new departure, as was perhaps Galatea’s account of their love affair (p. 201). The conversation provides a sequel to the account in book 9 of the *Odyssey*: there the Cyclops begs his father to prevent or hinder Odysseus’ return (528–35), and here we see Poseidon undertaking to do so.

1 τοῦ καταράτου ξένου: on ξενία see 1.5 τῶν ξένων n.; on κατάρατος *Timon* 14 K. οἰκέτης n. Here, however, the adjective has extra force, because Odysseus is literally ‘cursed’ (ἀράομαι) at the end of the Homeric Cyclops episode, when Polyphemus invokes Poseidon and prays that he will prevent Odysseus’ homecoming, or at least delay it and let him find his home in turmoil (9.528–35). μεθύσας: aor. part. of μεθύσκω, ‘make drunk’ (not of μεθύω, ‘be drunk’). ξῆω ἦν βέλους ‘out of range’. In the *Odyssey* Odysseus’ companions warn him not to reveal his position by shouting at the Cyclops, who is throwing huge rocks at the ship (9.495 βαλὼν βέλος); but Odysseus, who called himself Οὔτις in the Cyclops’ cave, cannot resist letting Polyphemus know his real identity: φάσθαι Ὀδυσσῆα πτολιπῆρθιον ἐξαλαῶσαι, ἢ υἱὸν Λαέρτεω, ἢ θάκηι ἐνὶ οἰκίᾳ ἔχοντα (504–5). This proves to be a mistake: it allows the Cyclops to curse him by name. οὐδὲ πάνυ εὐθαρσῆς ὢν: Odysseus had a mixed reputation. The wiles and deceitfulness which he uses in the *Odyssey* were developed in Greek tragedy, where he was often shown in a very bad light (e.g. in Sophocles’ *Philoctetes*). In his narrative in *Odyssey* 9, however, he accounts for his bravery with the words θάρσος ἐνέπνευσεν μέγα δαίμων (381).

2 ἀπὸ τῆς νομῆς ἀναστρέψας ‘coming back from the pastures’: LSJ ἀναστρέφω A.II.2. In Odysseus’ words, μένομέν τέ μιν ἔνδον ἢ ἡμενοι, ἧος ἐπῆλθε νέμων (*Od.* 9.232–3). ἐπιβουλεύοντας ‘with designs on’; cf. 5.2. ἐπέθηκα τῇ θύρῃ τὸ πῶμα: Odysseus describes Polyphemus as replacing the door-stone (*Od.* 9.313 θυρεὸν μέγα) as if he were putting the lid back on a quiver: ἄψ ἐπέθηχ’, ὥς εἴ τε φαρέτρῃ πῶμ’ ἐπιθείη (314). The allusion to Homer allows Lucian to dispense with the simile and use πῶμα for θυρεός. τὸ πῦρ ἀνέκαυσα: *Od.* 9.251 καὶ τότε πῦρ ἀνέκαυε καὶ ἔσιδεν, ἦρετο δ’ ἡμᾶς . . . δ’ ἔφερον δένδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους: Odysseus says φέρε δ’ ὄβριμον ἄχθος ἢ ὕλην ἀζαλῆς (*Od.* 9.233–4). ἀποκρύπτειν αὐτοὺς πειρώμενοι: Odysseus and his men had fled ἐς μυχὸν ἄντρον when the Cyclops appeared (*Od.* 9.236). συλλαβὼν τινὰς αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν κατέφαγον ληιστάς γε ὄντας: Polyphemus describes his cannibal feast in matter-of-fact language: he used reasonable force against some burglars. There is an amusing contrast with the highly emotive description given by Odysseus, who goes into hideous detail of slopping brains and bestial gourmandising (*Od.* 9.288–95). δίδωσί μοι πιεῖν ‘gave me a drink’: the phrase stands alone (LSJ δίδωμι 1.4), and φάρμακόν τι is object of ἐγγχεῖς. Odysseus’ words were “Κύκλωψ, τῇ, πῖε οἶνον . . .” (*Od.* 9.347). Polyphemus is unused to strong wine, which he thinks must contain poison. φάρμακον is a drug, good or bad; here the taste is good but the effect bad. Similar stories were told about Icarus and the introduction of wine to Attica (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.7, with Frazer’s nn.). ἐπιβουλότατον: the drink has the characteristic of Odysseus himself (cf. ἐπιβουλεύοντας . . . τοῖς ποιμνίοις above). ἅπαντα γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐδόκει μοι περιφέρεισθαι πίνοντι: having given a brief description of his meal the Cyclops goes into subjective detail about his feelings of drunkenness. In the *Odyssey* there is no mention of dizziness or other symptoms: Polyphemus drinks and falls instantly asleep (9.372–3 καὶ δὲ μιν ὕπνος ἤρει πανδαμάτωρ), though he is described as οἰνοβαρείων (374). ὅλως ‘in short’: *Dream* 10 ὅλως n. ἐν ἑμαυτοῦ ἦν ‘was at home’, i.e. ‘was in control of my senses’ (Plato, *Charm.* 155d, *Ar. Wasps* 642). ἀποξύνας τὸν μοχλόν: in the *Odyssey* Odysseus’ companions are ordered to sharpen (326 ἀποξύναι) the Cyclops’ club (319 ῥόπαλον), which is subsequently referred to as a μοχλός (332, 382, 387, 396); and the phrase τὸν μοχλόν is used at line 375. But here the force of the definite article is not clear. It ought to identify the stake as ‘my stake’, or ‘that stake’, but the first of these is unsuitable (the Cyclops had no stake), and the second presupposes that the stake has already been mentioned or is known to Poseidon. Perhaps τινὰ should be read for τόν. πυρώσας ‘having heated it in the fire’: LSJ III.1. The Homeric phrase is ἐπυράκτεον ἐν πυρὶ κηλέωι (*Od.* 9.328). ἀπ’ ἐκείνου ‘from that time’ (LSJ ἐκεῖνος IV), or perhaps ‘thanks to him’ (Macleod). τυφλὸς εἰμί σοι ‘this son of yours is blind’.

3 ὥς βαθὺν ἐκοιμήθης: sc. ὕπνον. This reads like a typical criticism by Lucian of Homeric verisimilitude; but in the *Odyssey* Polyphemus does waken



immediately, raging with pain (9.395). The joke must therefore be against the brevity and sparseness of the Lucianic Polyphemus' narrative. οὐκ ἐξέθορες: θρώσκω and its compounds are distinctly poetical (e.g. *Od.* 23.32 ἀπὸ λέκτροιο θορούσα), occurring rarely in prose; but the word is not found in the Homeric Cyclops episode. εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι: parenthetic: 'I'm sure'. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἀφείλον <'no, he couldn't';> but I removed it myself: *Od.* 9.416 ἀπὸ μὲν λίθον εἶλε θυράων. λάβοιμι . . . καθίσας . . . τὰς χεῖρας ἐκπετάσας: *Od.* 9.417 αὐτὸς δ' εἶνι θύρησι καθέζετο χεῖρε πετάσας, ἢ εἴ τινά που μετ' ὅεσσι λάβοι στείχοντα θύραζε. μόνα τὰ πρόβατα παρείς εἰς τὴν νομήν: *Od.* 9.438 νομόνδ' ἐξέσσυτο ἄρσενά μῆλα. ἐντειλάμενος τῷ κριῶι ὅσα ἐχρῆν πράττειν: the Cyclops' famous address to his ram (9.447 κριεῖ πέπον . . .). He wishes that the ram could speak and so tell him Odysseus' hiding-place (456 7).

4 μανθάνω 'I see!': LSJ IV. ἔδει ἐπιβοήσασθαι: Poseidon seems almost to have heard the story before, and to be familiar with the Homeric account. συνεκάλεσα: amusingly formal and understated by comparison with the cries described by Odysseus at *Od.* 9.395–402. μελαγχολᾶν οἰθθέντες με: *Od.* 9.410 12 (they advise him to pray to Poseidon for recovery of his wits). On μελαγχολία see *Sigma vs Tau* 9 ὑπὸ μελαγχολίας n. ἀπιόντες ὤχοντο 'went away and disappeared'; *Od.* 9.413 ὡς ἄρ' ἔφην ἀπιόντες. κατεσοφίσάτο με . . . τῷ ὀνόματι 'outwitted me with his name', a nice anachronistic touch. This renders, from a different perspective, Odysseus' words ἐμὸν δ' ἐγέλασσε φίλον κῆρ, ἢ ὡς ὄνομ' ἐξαπάτησεν ἐμοῦ καὶ μῆτις ἀμύμων (*Od.* 9.413 14). A verbal quibble or sophistry has defeated him. ὅτι καὶ 'is the fact that in addition . . .'. οὐδὲ ὁ πατήρ . . . ὁ Ποσειδῶν ἰάσεται σε: *Od.* 9.525 "ὡς οὐκ ὀφθαλμόν γ' ἰήσεται οὐδ' ἐνοσίχθων". ἀμυνοῦμαι . . . αὐτόν 'I'll punish him': LSJ B.Π. τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν: generalising plural: Poseidon is not an eye-doctor. ἐπ' ἐμοί ἐστι 'are in my control': LSJ ἐπὶ B.III.6.

### 3 POSEIDON AND ALPHEUS

Alpheus, in mid-sea on his way to visit his beloved Arethusa, is questioned about his love by Poseidon. Their dialogue is very brief, because Alpheus is in a hurry. Interrogations about love and the identity of the beloved are familiar from both comedy (Ar. *Frogs* 55ff., Men. *Heros* 15ff.) and Hellenistic and Roman poetry: Hunter (1999) 200 1.

Arethusa was the name of a famous spring on the island of Ortygia near Syracuse in Sicily. Its copious flow of fresh water so near the sea was accounted for by the myth that the river Alpheus, which discharges on the western coast of the Peloponnese, flowed under the Ionian Sea untainted by salt water, and re-emerged as Arethusa. Several variants of the story are recorded, all featuring erotic pursuit. According to Pausanias, Arethusa and Alpheus were a huntress and huntsman; Arethusa fled his attentions and went to Syracuse, where she was metamorphosed into a spring, and Alpheus was changed into a river so

that he could pursue her there (5.7.2; cf. 8.54.1–2 on the fact that the Alpheus disappears underground several times in its course: 'Alph the sacred river ran | Through caverns measureless to man'). In the Ovidian version Arethusa is a huntress nymph and Alpheus a river; Artemis changed her into a spring which flowed under the sea to Sicily; Alpheus pursued her as a man but reverted later to his watery shape (*Met.* 5.572 641); for further variants see Bömer ad loc. Lucian characteristically draws attention to unrealistic elements in the story by having Alpheus say he is not in love with a woman, a nymph or a Nereid, but with a spring (1 πηγῆς), and he hurries off before Poseidon can ask further embarrassing details about their long-distance relationship (2). Both Alpheus and Arethusa are described as watery yet anthropomorphic; and the contrast between the two states is not allowed to go unchallenged.

1 μόνος τῶν ἄλλων 'you alone' (sc. ποταμῶν). For the pleonastic use of ἄλλος see LSJ II.8. διαχυθεῖς: there is play on two meanings of the verb, 'relax' and 'disperse': LSJ διαχέω II.3, 4. συνεστῶς 'keeping your shape': LSJ B.V; cf. ibid. A.V. γλυκύ 'fresh' (as opposed to ὀλυνρός: LSJ I.1.b), but also perhaps (in retrospect) with some erotic colour. ὑποδύς 'diving': LSJ II.1.a. εἰοικας 'it seems likely that you will . . .', 'I dare say you'll . . .'. πού 'somewhere or other'. ὥστε μὴ ἔλεγχε 'so don't delay me with questions': LSJ ὥστε B.II.2. ἡράσθης δὲ πολλὰκις καὶ αὐτός: lovers, as here, may appeal to gods or powers above to witness or sympathise with their affairs: Men. *Mis.* 1ff. (Night), Asclep. *AP* 5.64.5. οὐκ, ἀλλὰ πηγῆς: an amusing reply, making no concession to anthropomorphism. ἢ δέ: sc. πηγῆ. The word αὕτη is strictly redundant, but it resumes the question: 'This spring where exactly is she to be found?' The phrase ποῦ γῆς; means 'where on earth?', and there is a hint of impatience here. For ποῦ with the genitive see LSJ I.1.

2 οἶδα . . . ἀργυροειδής: Poseidon gives an ecphrastic description in miniature of the spring, culminating in an elegant poetical adjective. οὐκ ἄμορφον: sc. οὔσαν. ἀναβλύζει: a Delphic oracle quoted by Pausanias (5.7.3) uses the same vocabulary: ἴν' Ἀλφειοῦ στόμα βλύζει ἢ μισγόμενον πηγαῖσιν ἐυρρείτης [-α, -ου?] Ἀρεθοῦσης. περιέργα ἐρωτῶν 'asking unnecessary questions' (LSJ περιέργος II.2), about the fictionality of myth, for example. συναναμίγνυστο: the dialogue closes with an echo of the word ἀναμίγνυσαι in the opening sentence. Since μίγνυμι is commonly applied both to liquids and to acts of sexual intercourse, it is particularly suited to this context: the two waters merge into one as two lovers conventionally merge into a single body.

### 4 MENELAUS AND PROTEUS

'Seeing is believing': a dramatisation of another famous watery scene. In book 4 of the *Odyssey* Menelaus recounts how he was instructed by Proteus' daughter Eidothea how to catch her father, who is to tell Menelaus how to get back



home. Proteus, a sort of Old Man of the Sea, is a shape-shifter, and Menelaus with three companions will have to keep a firm hold of him during his various metamorphoses: πάντα δὲ γιγνόμενος πειρήσεται, ὅσος ἐπὶ γαίαν ἰέρπετα γίγνονται καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ θεσπιδαῖς πῦρ (417-18). When Menelaus gives his account of what subsequently happened during the capture, he says that Proteus became a snake, a leopard, a boar, water and a tall tree; but he makes no mention of the predicted fire (455-8). This omission may have suggested to Lucian the idea of a dialogue on the plausibility of Proteus' turning into fire. Menelaus swallows a camel only to strain at a gnat: he says that he can accept Proteus' other metamorphoses, but not (though he has seen it with his own eyes) that into fire, an element opposed to the native element in which Proteus lives (1). In an allusion to the theories of the Homeric allegorisers, who rationalised Proteus as a θαυμαστοποιός (e.g. Eustath. 1503.29-32), Lucian's Menelaus suggests that the sea god is some sort of magician who can delude his audience. Proteus replies robustly that if Menelaus is in doubt, he need only put his hand to the fire (2); and, turning natural historian, he cites the octopus as another creature able to change its appearance. This parallel fails to convince Menelaus, who cannot cope with the idea of fire and water coexisting. The dialogue ends with Menelaus still doubting the evidence of his own eyes (3); and it is not clear how strong Proteus' arguments are meant to be.

1 φορητόν 'is credible' (sc. ἐστί), literally 'is tolerable': cf. *Timon* 23 οὐκέτι φορητός ἐστι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν. οἰκοῦντά σε 'living, as you do'. εἰρήσεται γὰρ πρὸς σέ 'I have to say': cf. 13.1 εἰρήσεται γὰρ τὰ ληθές. γοητεῖαν τινά: Aristophanes, Plato and Lucian use γόης and γοητεία of wandering miracle-workers who are dangerously persuasive (e.g. Plato, *Symp.* 202e, 203d; cf. Bowie (1993) 112-24). οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο 'nothing of the kind'.

2 ἐπὶ 'in the case of': LSJ A.1.2.f.

3 τὰς κοτύλας 'suckers'. The usual word is κοτυληδών (cf. *Fly* 3). μεταβάλλει τὴν χροάν: the ancients were familiar with the colour-changing of the octopus: Theognis 215-16, D'Arcy Thompson (1947) 206-7, Mair on Opp. *Hal.* 2.233. ὥς = ὥστε. μὴ . . . μηδέ: see p. 6. διαλλάττων 'standing out': LSJ IV.2, v. τὸ . . . σὸν 'what you do' (sc. e.g. ἔργον).

## 5 POSEIDON AND THE DOLPHINS

Arion and the dolphin, from a novel perspective: that of the dolphin.

The story of Arion is placed prominently near the beginning of Herodotus' *Histories* (1.23-4), a work both admired for its charm and criticised for its inaccuracies in Lucian's time: Lightfoot (2003) 209-10. After a successful tour of Sicily, Arion of Methymna on Lesbos, the famous lyre-player and inventor of the

dithyramb, hires a company of Corinthian sailors to take him back to Corinth, where the tyrant Periander is his patron. The sailors, coveting his money, give him the choice of being killed or jumping into the sea. Arion plays a last tune and leaps overboard. He is rescued by a dolphin and taken to Cape Taenarum, from where he makes his way back to Corinth to confront the astonished sailors in the presence of Periander.

The Lucianic Arion is a less admirable character than the Herodotean. Exploiting the detail that Arion earned χρήματα μεγάλα in Italy and Sicily (Hdt. 1.24.1), Lucian expands on the theme of his love of money: he is keen to go home to show off his wealth (2 ἐπεθύμησεν n.), and he cannot resist giving the sailors a glimpse of his cash. Poseidon's concluding remark that the dolphin gave Arion an ἄξιον . . . μισθόν for his shipboard performance is an ironical reflection of this.

1 εὖ γε . . . ὅτι 'well done for being . . .!': LSJ εὖ γε 2. τὸ τῆς Ἰνου παιδίου: driven mad by Hera, Ino, daughter of Cadmus king of Thebes, leapt with her son Melicertes into the sea. In some versions of the story she killed the boy first (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.4.3), and in others both were drowned (Ovid, *Met.* 4.519-42); but there was another tradition that Melicertes was rescued by a dolphin and brought to the Isthmus of Corinth (Paus. 1.44.7-8, 2.1.3; *LIMC* VI 1.437-44, 2.225-8). Ino became a sea goddess called Leucothea; both she and Melicertes, also called Palaemon, helped sailors in distress, and the Isthmian Games were founded in the boy's honour. σύ: the sentence moves from the generalising plural (ἀεὶ . . . ἐστέ) to the singular for this specific case. τῶν Σκειρωνίδων 'the Scironian cliffs' on the coast of Megara, named after the murderous Sciron, who kicked his victims from there into the sea. ἐξενήξω 'you swam away'; cf. 2 ἐξενήξαμην. αὐτῇ σκευῇ καὶ κιθάραι: for the dative see LSJ αὐτός 1.5; for the phrasing cf. 2 τὴν σκευὴν . . . n. His lyre and full costume would make it much more difficult to swim, but were symbolic of his status, wealth and fame. ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἰχθύες γενόμενοι: the participle is causal, explaining why Poseidon ought not to be surprised. The story of how Dionysus in human form turned into dolphins the pirates who had kidnapped him is told in the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*, at Ovid, *Met.* 3.582-691, and elsewhere. καταναυμαχῆσας 'having beaten us at sea', though not in a conventional sea-battle. The word is used to make closer the parallel with Dionysus' triumphant eastern conquests in his fight for recognition as a member of the pantheon, a campaign which came to be modelled in iconography on that of Alexander through Persia and India. καὶ μετέβαλε 'he also changed our shape'. ὑπηγάγετο 'brought under his power': LSJ A.1.2. τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀρίωνα τοῦτον 'this affair of Arion's'. Here κατὰ = 'concerning': LSJ B.IV.2.

2 ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ: the preposition is causal: LSJ B.III.1. ἐπεθύμησεν πλεῦσας οἰκάδε εἰς τὴν Μήθυμναν: Lucian may have misremembered Herodotus'

account: Arion was indeed from Methymna on the island of Lesbos, but he was travelling back to Corinth after a lucrative tour of Italy and Sicily: τὸν Ἀρίωνα . . . ἐπιθυμῆσαι πλωσαι ἐς Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Σικελίαν, ἐργασάμενον δὲ χρήματα μεγάλα θελήσαι ὀπίσω ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικέσθαι (1.24.1). That it was the Sicilian sea in which his adventure took place is confirmed by the epigram on his statue at Taenarum and by a lyric poem attributed to him, both quoted by Aelian (*HA* 12.45 = *PMG* 939); these may however have been influenced by Herodotus' account. It is possible that Lucian may be following, in this particular only, a variant tradition which had Arion travelling home when he was rescued. In any case, the motive here attributed to Arion, his desire to show off his wealth back at home, is typical of Lucian's cynical approach to myth. **ἔδειξεν . . . ἄγων:** for δέικνυμι with a participle, 'show that . . .', see *LSJ* 4. **ἐπέτρεψαν** 'gave way' to him, granted him permission: *LSJ* 11.1. **τὴν σκευὴν . . . ὀρῆνον . . . ῥῖψαι ἐμαυτόν:** in the Herodotean account Arion plays not a dirge for himself but the ὄρθιος νόμος, a tune for Apollo: 1.24.5 ἐνδύντα τε πᾶσαν τὴν σκευὴν καὶ λαβόντα τὴν κιθάρην . . . διεξελεῖν νόμον τὸν ὄρθιον, τελευτῶντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου ῥῖψαί μιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐωυτόν ὡς εἶχε σὺν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ; cf. *Plut. Sept. sap. conu.* 18. ὡς 'in the belief that': *LSJ* C.1.2. **ὑπολαβών:** *Hdt.* 1.24.6 δελφῖνα λέγουσι ὑπολαβόντα ἐξενεῖναι ἐπὶ Ταίναρον. **ἀναθέμενος αὐτόν** 'taking him aboard' on its back. **ἔχων** 'holding my course': *LSJ* A.11.8. **τῆς φιλομουσίας:** the rescuer dolphins are called φιλόμουσοι in line 9 of the lyric poem attributed to Arion (n. on ἐπεθύμησεν above).

## 6 POSEIDON AND THE NEREIDS

Poseidon discusses with Amphitrite and her fellow Nereids the death of Helle and the coming fate of Ino. Amphitrite was, according to some accounts, the wife of Poseidon (e.g. *Hes. Theog.* 930, *Apollod. Bibl.* 1.4.5), but here she seems only to be a spokeswoman for the Nereids (cf. *Apollod. Bibl.* 1.2.7).

The mythical background is summarised by Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 1.9.1 2): Athamas, son of Aeolus king of Boeotia, married Nephele, who bore him Phrixus and Helle. Later he took another wife, Ino, who bore him Learchus and Melicertes. Ino wickedly plotted against her stepchildren: she caused a famine by ruining the seed, and contrived that messengers should report that the Delphic oracle commanded Phrixus' sacrifice if the suffering of the land was to come to an end. Nephele rescued her son from the altar and set him and his sister on the back of a flying ram given to her by Hermes. Helle fell into the sea, giving her name to the Hellespont; Phrixus was carried to Colchis on the Black Sea coast, where he married the daughter of King Aeetes. The ram was sacrificed, and its golden fleece was nailed to an oak tree in a grove of Ares. Subsequently (*Apollod. Bibl.* 3.4.3) Athamas was driven mad by Hera, who was angry that Ino had been made nurse to Zeus's illegitimate son Dionysus. He killed Learchus and

pursued Ino, who leapt with Melicertes into the sea, where the pair were deified as Leucothea and Palaemon. The story probably formed the basis for one or both of the two *Athamas* plays by Sophocles (*TrGF* 1 10 R.; see also Pearson ad loc.).

This dialogue continues the theme of characters from mythology asking awkward questions. Why should Helle not be buried at the Hellespont itself? Why does the wicked Ino deserve to be deified? Why did Helle but not Phrixus fall from the ram? Why did her mother make no attempt to save her? Poseidon addresses these tricky problems as well as he can. (There is preserved at *Diodorus* 4.47.4 a rationalising interpretation of the story which has a seasick Helle fall from a boat with a ram's-head prow; but Poseidon, a character from myth himself, can hardly resort to this; though perhaps ἰλιγγιάσασα in §2 may hint at such an idea.)

**1** **κατηνέχθη** 'fell down' from the airborne ram: *LSJ* καταφέρω 1.2.d. **τῇ Τρωάδι:** the eastern side of the Hellespont is formed by the Troad, the western side by the Chersonese promontory. **τεθάφθω** 'let her be buried', 3rd. pers. sing. perf. pass. imperative, the perfect marking permanence, as opposed to the aorist ταφείη (above) of the act of interment; likewise the future perfect τεθάψεται below, 'shall have her last resting-place'. **οἴκτιστα:** an irregular superlative of οἰκτρός found in epic verse and in prose writers of the Roman empire. **ἐνταῦθά που** 'hereabouts'. **ἐν τῇ Χερρονήσῳ:** this was the best known site for Helle's grave: *Hdt.* 7.58.2. **ἐκεῖνο** is antecedent to ὅτι. **ἀπ' ἄκρου τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος** 'the edge of Mt Cithaeron', a spur or ridge of which sloped down (καθῆκει) to the sea at the cliffs of Sciron (5.11.). **καθ' ὅπερ καθῆκει:** sc. ὁ Κιθαιρῶν. **χαρισαμένους:** when an adjective or participle refers to both a male and a female subject, the masculine is used. **τροφὸς γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τίτθη ἢ Ἰνώ:** see 5.1 τὸ τῆς Ἰνοῦς παιδίον n.

**2** **αὕτη δὲ ἄρα τί παθοῦσα** 'And Helle – how come she . . .': cf. 11.2 τί παθών, *Lit. Prom.* 7 τί δὲν πάθοιμι nn. The combination δὲ ἄρα, common in epic but rare in Attic, marks the lively interest of the Nereids as they revert to the subject of Helle. **νεανίας γάρ:** sc. ἐστί. **ἄχανές** 'yawning', 'immense': *LSJ* 11.1. The prefix is intensive, not negative: cf. ἀτενής, 'intent', ἀσπερχές, 'hotly'. **συσχεθεῖσα** 'affected': *LSJ* συνέχω 1.5. **ἄκρατῆς ἐγένετο τῶν κεράτων τοῦ κριοῦ** 'she became unable to keep hold of the ram's horns'. Helle's fall was a popular subject in art. Several Roman wall-paintings depict Phrixus aboard the ram reaching vainly towards his sister as she falls, and other representations show the pair either borne across the sea like Europa on the bull or carried through the air Pegasus-fashion: *LIMC* VII 1.398 404, 2.332–8. **ἐχρῆν . . . τὴν Νεφέλην βοηθῆσαι πιπτούσῃ:** Nephele, Phrixus' first wife, was an immortal (*CPG* II 529 ἀπέπτη εἰς οὐρανόν). The Nereids seem to be implying that her name, 'Cloud', makes it likely that she could have broken Helle's fall.

## 7 PANOPE AND GALENE

Panope and Galene (who are named in Hesiod's catalogue of sea nymphs at *Theog.* 244, 250) discuss the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. Panope, 'She who sees everything', has witnessed the whole event (1 εἶδες . . .); while Galene, 'Calm', was busy calming the waves. The sea nymphs would naturally be present, since Thetis was one of their number. Panope reports the well-known story of how the goddess Eris (Strife), furious at not being invited, caused conflict among the female goddesses by rolling before them an apple inscribed 'For the fairest'. Zeus refused to adjudicate and referred the decision to Paris as a connoisseur of beauty (cf. Apollod. *Epit.* 3.2).

The dialogue fills an ingeniously contrived interval between the setting up of the Judgment and Paris' decision. The Judgment itself was treated at length by Lucian in his work *Θεῶν κρίσις*, where Paris views the naked goddesses, is promised a gift by each (cf. Eur. *Troad.* 924-31), and decides in favour of Aphrodite.

1 οἷα ἐποίησεν ἡ Ἐρίς 'what Eris went and did'. ἐν Θερταλίαι: Peleus was king of Phthia in Thessaly. ἐν τοσοῦτωι 'during that time': LSJ II. παραπυμφθέντες 'escorted' to the door of the bedchamber, a formal part of the wedding ritual. Ἀπόλλωνι κιθαρίζοντι: at *Il.* 24.62-3 Hera reproaches Apollo for his enmity towards Achilles, whose parents' marriage he had attended: πάντες δ' ἀντιάσθε, θεοί, γάμου· ἐν δὲ σὺ τοῖσι | δαίνυ' ἔχων φόρμιγγα, κακῶν ἔταρ', αἰὲν ἄπιστε (cf. Plato, *Rep.* 383b = Aesch. *TrGF* 350 R.). Catullus, in his poem on the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, pointedly exempts Apollo and Diana from those who attended (64.299-302) and has the wedding-song sung instead by the Fates.

2 ἐπελέξατο 'had read out': LSJ III.2. ἄχρι χειρῶν 'to blows'. The wedding feast would have degenerated into a fist-fight like the notorious Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs at the wedding of Pirithous; cf. Lucian's *Symposium*. τί οὖν αἱ θεαί; sc. ποιοῦσι.

## 8 TRITON AND POSEIDON

The sea god Triton tells Poseidon about the beautiful Amymone, who fetches water each day from a spring at Lerna. Poseidon borrows a dolphin from Triton and hastens to the spot as Amymone arrives. She resists his violent advances, but is told by the god of her future fate.

The story of Poseidon and Amymone was treated by Aeschylus in the satyr play of his Danaid trilogy (*Danaides, Aegyptii, Supplices, Amymone*). Later accounts of the story will have been influenced by that play, the plot of which is not known. From the mythological handbooks of Apollodorus and Hyginus a version of the myth presupposed by Lucian can be reconstructed as follows. Danaus,

fearing murder at the hands of his twin brother Aegyptus, fled from Egypt with his fifty daughters to Argos, and sought refuge there. The land was waterless, because Poseidon had dried up the river Inachus as punishment for testifying that Argos belonged not to him but to Hera. Danaus sent out his daughters to look for water. Amymone came upon a satyr; his attempted rape was foiled by Poseidon, who had intercourse with her himself and in return created with his trident the springs at Lerna. The fifty sons of Aegyptus came to Argos in hopes of marrying their cousins. Danaus promised his daughters as brides, but persuaded them to kill their husbands on the wedding night. All but one (Hypermetra) did so, and they are numbered among the great sinners in the underworld, where they are doomed to carry water for ever in sieves or leaky vessels (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1.4; Hyg. *Fab.* 169; Paus. 2.15.5). Whether or not the Danaids' punishment was mentioned by Aeschylus is not known. It is referred to by Plato (*Gorg.* 492d-493d), but is mentioned frequently only in Latin poetry (e.g. Lucr. 3.1008-10, Hor. *Odes* 3.11.22-4), perhaps because it was depicted on Augustus' Palatine temple. The rescue of Amymone by Poseidon and the creation of the spring named after her were popular subjects in art (Philost. *Imag.* 1.8, *LIMC* I 1.742-52, 2.597-608). Lucian omits the lustful satyr, but he has the usually grave Poseidon behave in an uncharacteristically frenzied way. The piece closes with a neat mythological point: Amymone was encountered while she carried water; a spring will be named after her; but she alone of all the sisters will be exempted from water-carrying in the afterlife. She will become, it is to be assumed, the eponymous nymph of her spring.

1 πάγκαλόν τι χρήμα: *Timon* 55 πάνσοφόν τι χρήμα n. οὐκ οἶδα . . . ἰδὼν 'I don't think I ever saw . . .'. τοῦνομα: accusative of respect. σκληραγωγεί τὰς θυγατέρας: Triton is humorously made to adopt the morality of a more refined age. In Greek myths it is not unusual or necessarily harsh for a princess to carry water or to perform menial tasks: in the *Odyssey* Nausicaa does the washing and the daughter of Antiphates is encountered as she fetches water from a spring (*Od.* 10.105-8). ἀόκνους: i.e. not afraid of hard work.

2 μακρὰν οὕτω τὴν ὁδόν: the distance is more than ten miles. πολυδίψιον δὲ τὸ Ἄργος: Argos is called πολυδίψιον, 'thirsty', by Agamemnon at *Il.* 4.171; the word is discussed by Strabo (8.6.7). ὥς οἶσθα: Poseidon should know this, since it was he who caused Argos to be dry (see above). There is also the humorously anachronistic implication that the god ought to be well enough educated to recognise the Homeric reference. ζεύξον τὸ ἄρμα: Poseidon was especially associated with horses, and had the epithet ἵππιος; cf. *Il.* 13.23-31, where he is described driving his chariot across the sea, a type of scene often represented in art; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.142-56. ἢ 'or rather', marks his second thoughts. τὴν διατριβήν 'waste of time': LSJ II. σὺ δὲ ἄλλὰ: this phrase is used to introduce 'second thoughts': *GP* 10. ἀφιππάσομαι

applied to a dolphin adds to the comic tone, as does παρανήχου for the usual παρίπτευε. ἰδού, with or without σοι, is often used, like Fr. *voici*, on giving someone something asked for, or on obeying a request. κάπειδὴ πάρεσμεν εἰς τὴν Λέρναν: Poseidon's words indicate a change of scene. The distance has been covered with preternatural speed. ἀποσκόπει ὁπτόταν αἰσθῆι προσιοῦσαν αὐτὴν 'keep a lookout when you see her coming' is not very good sense. It is perhaps better to place a colon after ἀποσκόπει and to introduce a new sentence with the word ὁπτόταν, soon to be interrupted by Triton (thus Hemsterhuis).

3 ἀνδραποδιστής: a man who kidnapped people (often children) and sold them as slaves. Here Amymon assumes that he has been sent by her wicked uncle (θείου) Aegyptus. τί Ποσειδῶν λέγεις; 'what's that nonsense about Poseidon?' If it is the correct reading, the nominative is used as a direct quotation from Triton's speech. θάρρει, οὐδὲν δεινὸν μὴ πάθῃς: conventional language in mythological abductions of this type. In the *Europa* of Moschus Zeus disguised as a bull says to the girl he is carrying over the sea θάρρει, παρθενική, μὴ δειδῖθι πόντιον οἶδμα (154); cf. *Hom. Hymn to Aphr.* 193–5 (Aphrodite to Anchises) θάρρει, μηδὲ τι σῆσι μετὰ φρεσὶ δειδῖθι λίην· ἰοὺ γάρ τοι τι δέος παθεῖν κακὸν ἐξ ἐμέθεν γε ἰοὺδ' ἄλλων μακάρων, ἐπεὶ ἦ φίλος ἐσσι θεοῖσι. οὐ(δὲν) . . . μὴ with the subjunctive is a strong denial: *GMT* §294. πατάξας τῇ τριαίνῃ: springs are often said to have originated from a sharp blow on a rock; Hippocrene, for example, welled up after a blow from the hoof of Pegasus (Aratus 219–21); cf. Theoc. 7.6 7. πλησίον τοῦ κλύσματος 'near the beach'. οὐχ ὕδροφορήσεις ἀποθανοῦσα: see p. 213. Poseidon does not mention what he will do before this eventual metamorphosis.

### 9 IRIS AND POSEIDON

Iris, messenger of Zeus, tells Poseidon to fix fast the wandering island of Delos so that Leto can give birth there to the twins Apollo and Artemis. Poseidon obeys, and invites Leto to the island.

The best-known accounts of this story are the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* and Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*. Both poems contrast the insignificance of Delos before the birth of Apollo with its subsequent fame as a cult centre of the god. The *Homeric Hymn* does not say that Delos was a wandering island; Callimachus does, and has it drifting like flotsam over the sea (191, 225); Lucian has it floating invisible beneath the surface (1 ὕφαλον, 2 ἀνόδυθι). Iris figures in both poems: in the *Homeric Hymn* she is sent to summon the goddess of childbirth (102–16); in Callimachus she keeps watch, warns off places willing to give refuge to Leto, and finally tells Hera the bad news that Leto has been accepted by Delos (66–7, 157–9, 215–39). Lucian gives her a different role in the story.

The second part of the *Homeric Hymn* tells how Apollo destroyed the monstrous guardian snake Python at Delphi (349–74; cf. Call. *Hymn to Apollo* 97–104), but Lucian follows a much less well attested tradition which had the snake pursue Leto while she was pregnant (2 νῦν ἐξοιστρεῖ αὐτήν; cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 53).

1 ἀποσπασθεῖσαν τῆς Σικελίας: in a detail unrecorded elsewhere, Callimachus in his *Hymn to Delos* says that Poseidon tested out his newly forged trident by striking some mountains, and that the islands were fragments broken off by the blow and levered into the sea (30–6). Since the Telchines, who made the trident, had their forge in Sicily, it seems likely that the mountains were nearby. ἀνάφηνον καὶ ποίησον δῆλον: the etymological point that Δῆλος became clearly visible, δῆλη, after being at last permanently fixed is made by Callimachus: *Hymn to Delos* 53 οὐκέτ' ἄδηλος ἐπέπλεες. στηρίξας πάνυ ἀσφαλῶς: another echo of the Callimachean hymn: 11 13 κείνη . . . πόντωι ἐνεστήρικται. χρεῖαν 'use': LSJ III.1. πονηρῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ὠδίνων ἔχει: cf. Call. *Hymn to Delos* 61 τειρομένην ὠδίσι, 202 ὑπ' ὠδίνεσσι βαρυνομένην, *Hom. Hymn to Apollo* 91–2 ἀέλπτοις ἰ ὠδίνεσσι πέπαρτο. ὄρκωι μεγάλωι κατέλαβε τὴν γῆν: in the Homeric and Callimachean hymns it is fear and threats that prevent the various cities and islands from offering refuge to Leto; but a 'great oath' does feature in the Homeric poem when Delos, doubtful that Leto will fulfil her promises of future fame, asks her to take an oath (79, 83 μέγαν ὄρκον, 85 6 μέγιστος ἰ ὄρκος).

2 μηκέτι ὑποφέρου 'no longer travel under water': cf. 1 ὕφαλον ἔτι νήχεσθαι. τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ 'my brother's'. τοὺς καλλίστους τῶν θεῶν: Apollo in particular was characterised as a youth of ideal beauty (e.g. Call. *Hymn to Apollo* 36 εἰ καλὸς καὶ αἰεὶ νέος). τὸν δράκοντα: see above.

### 10 XANTHUS AND THE SEA

The river-god Xanthus asks the sea to cool him down, and tells her how he was scorched by Hephaestus. The dialogue continues an episode recounted in book 21 of the *Iliad*: the Trojan river Scamander, called Xanthus by the gods, is so angry at Achilles' slaughter of the Trojans that he rises up and attempts to drown him; but Hera orders Hephaestus to scorch the river with fire, and he is forced to back down.

The theme, fire and water, is reminiscent of *Dialogue* 4. Here Lucian plays with the Homeric problem of what a burnt river might actually look like. In art rivers were represented anthropomorphically; but here apparently Xanthus is at the same time 'wounded' and 'boiling' (1).

The Homeric account ends with the words Ἥφαιστος δὲ κατέσβεσε θεσπιδαῆς πῦρ, ἰ ἄπορρον δ' ἄρα κύμα κατέσσυτο καλὰ ῥέεθρα (*Il.* 21.381–2), and

Lucian's dialogue, a modestly ingenious supplement to Homer, echoes this with κατὰσβεσον in its opening sentence.

1 ζέω: at *Il.* 21.362-5 Xanthus is said to boil like the water in a heated cauldron. διὰ τί δέ σοι καὶ ἐνέβαλε τὸ πῦρ; 'and why ever did he...?' καὶ after an interrogative asks for supplementary information: *GP* 312 13. ὑπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀπέφραττε μοι τὸν ῥοῦν: at *Il.* 21.220 Xanthus says that he is στείνόμενος νεκύεσσι, 'crowded with corpses'; στείνω is a verb confined to hexameter poetry. ἐπικλύσαι 'sweep him away': *LSJ* 1.3.

2 ἔκαυσε . . . πτελέας . . . μυρίκας . . . ἰχθύς . . . ἐγγέλει: *Il.* 21.350 καίοντο πτελέαι τε καὶ ἰτέαι ἥδ' ἐμυρίκαι . . . , 353 τείροντ' ἐγγέλυες τε καὶ ἰχθύες οἱ κατὰ δίνας. The substitution of ὥπτησε by Lucian for the Homeric τείροντ' is a humorous detail, since the verb is used almost exclusively in descriptions of cooking. ὑπερκοχλάσαι 'boil over'. The more usual word is καχλάζω. θολερὸς . . . καὶ θερμός: sc. εἶ. τὸ αἷμα . . . ἡ θέρμη . . . : sc. ἐστί. It is the blood that has made Xanthus θολερὸς, 'turbid'. εἰκότως: sc. οὕτω δικάσσει. τὸν ἐμὸν υἱώνον: if the conjecture υἱώνον is correct (the manuscripts have the impossible υἱόν), Thalassa is here assumed to be the mother of Thetis. οὐκ ἔδει: sc. με. Xanthus claims that it was natural that he should pity the Trojans, through whose land he flowed. Thalassa replies that it was no less natural for Hephaestus to pity the son of Thetis. There is an allusion to *Il.* 18.388-409, where Hephaestus is keen to help Thetis because she tended him when on account of his bodily imperfection he was cast out of heaven by his mother Hera.

#### 11 NOTUS AND ZEPHYRUS

Notus and Zephyrus, the south and west winds, discuss Io. They have been told to keep the sea calm until she lands in Egypt; and they witness her transformation back from a cow to a woman. They are characterised as sedulous servants, eager to ingratiate themselves with their future mistress (2 θεραπευτέα . . .). Their dialogue concludes with a double metamorphosis, since Hermes turns into the dog-headed Egyptian god Anubis at the same time as Io takes human form. The typically Lucianic question posed by Notus, who asks why on earth this should be, is not allowed to proceed further: servile discretion for once overcomes the temptation to embarrassing enquiry.

Io, daughter of Inachus and priestess of Hera, was loved by Zeus and turned into a cow by the jealous Hera, who set many-eyed Argos to keep watch over her. Zeus ordered Hermes to kill Argos (*Timon* 32 Ἀργειφόντα n.), but Hera sent a gadfly which drove the cow to Egypt via the Bosphorus and the Ionian Sea. In Egypt she recovered her human form and gave birth to Epaphus, whom the Greeks identified with Apis or Sarapis (*Hdt.* 2.153, 3.27.1, *Plut. De Is. et*

*Os.* 43). The story is told at length by Ovid at *Met.* 1.568-750; cf. *Dial. of the Gods* 7, *Aesch. Prom.* 561-886, *Suppl.* 291-315, *Apollod. Bibl.* 2.1.3, *Mosch. Eur.* 44-62.

1 πάνυ qualifies ἐρῶντα. ἔστ' ἂν διανήξεται: in Classical Attic ἔστε ἂν, 'until such time as', takes a subjunctive (and some manuscripts have διανήξηται here), but there are several other examples of ἂν with the future indicative in Lucian: *Macleod* (1956).

2 ἡ δάμαλις θεός: sc. ἔσται. ἄρει . . . τῶν πλεόντων καὶ ἡμῶν ἔσται δέσποινα: among Greeks of the Hellenistic and Roman periods Io was identified with the Egyptian goddess Isis, who was sometimes depicted with a cow's head; her cult titles included Pelagia, Pharia and Euploia: *Dial. of the Gods* 7, *Hdt.* 2.41.2, *Griffiths on Plut. De Is. et Os.* 50, id. (1975) 31-47. διεπέρασε: probably an allusion to the well-known etymology of the word Bosphorus, 'cow's ford', so named after Io crossed it on her way from Europe to Asia. ἐξένευσεν: aorist of ἐκνέω, 'escape by swimming'. κυνοπρόσωπος: Hermes has undergone a transformation contrasting with that of Io. In Ptolemaic times he had come to be identified with the Egyptian dog-headed god Anubis, who was sometimes called Hermanubis: *Griffiths on Plut. De Is. et Os.* 61.

#### 12 DORIS AND THETIS

Thetis tells Doris of the pity she feels at having seen Danae and her baby cast adrift in a chest. They resolve to rescue mother and child by having them caught in the nets of fishermen. The dialogue is unusual in having no hint of cynicism or self-interest: the two sea nymphs are moved by pity for Danae and her beautiful child (2 κάλλιστον ὄν, οὕτως ὃν καλόν), which is blithely unaware of its own danger.

Acrisius, king of Argos, had been told by an oracle that a son of his daughter Danae would kill him. He immured her in a bronze chamber, where she was visited by Zeus in a shower of gold and gave birth to Perseus. Acrisius set the pair afloat in a wooden chest, which Seriphian fishermen caught in their nets. Perseus later killed the king unintentionally with a misdirected quoit. Aeschylus composed a satyr play *Δικτυουλκοί, Net-drawers*, which featured the rescue of Danae and Perseus (*TrGF* 46a-46c R.), and Sophocles wrote an *Acrisius* (*TrGF* 60-76 R.; cf. 165-70); see also *Apollod. Bibl.* 2.4.1-4.

1 ἀποσπᾶσασιν 'were distant'; for the intransitive use see *LSJ* 11. ἐπαρθένευεν 'brought up the girl'. δ' οὖν 'however that may be', 'anyhow', resumptive after the parenthesis: *GP* 463 4. ἐς τὸν κόλπον καταρρέοντα: several vase-paintings show the gold cascading down: *LIMC* III 1.325-37, 2.243 9.

2 καθίετο 'was let down <into the sea>'. τὸ δέ: sc. βρέφος. ὑπ' ἀγνοίας τῶν κακῶν: this detail may be inspired by Simonides' famous lyric poem on Danae and Perseus, in which the mother says to her sleeping child ἔχυναν . . . παριόντος κύματος οὐκ ἀλέγεις, 'you do not mind the foam of the passing waves' (*PMG* 543.13 15). καὶ ἔμειδία 'and even smiled'. ἀμφί 'near', 'off': LSJ C.1.2. τὴν Σέριφον: an island of the Cyclades, south-east of Argos. τοῖς ἀλιεῦσι τούτοις . . . δίκτυα: these words show that the dialogue takes place in mid sea and provide a reference to the Aeschylean *Net-drawers*.

## 13 ENIPEUS AND POSEIDON

A conversation between Enipeus and Poseidon concerning Tyro. The story is familiar from *Od.* 11.235 59. In the underworld Odysseus meets Tyro, who pined for the handsome river-god Enipeus but was seduced by Poseidon who disguised himself as Enipeus, revealing his true identity afterwards. The tale was told also by Hesiod in the *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 30.25 42, 31 M W) and by Sophocles in his *Tyro* (*TrGF* 648 69a R.), where the consequences of Tyro's giving birth were probably dramatised: see Pearson on Soph. fr. 648 69, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.8.

Taking his cue from the Odyssean description of Enipeus as κάλλιστος ποταμῶν (11.239), Lucian has Poseidon cynically show little sympathy for the river-god, whom he reproaches for having been proudly backward in his attentions to Tyro. It is left unclear whether Enipeus is still interested in Tyro, and whether his ignoring her was a tactic akin to that of Theocritus' Cyclops in *Idyll* 6, who claims that his neglectful behaviour will make Galatea desire him even more (p. 200).

1 ὑπελθὼν τὴν ἐρωμένην: ὑπ- implies underhand insinuation. ἀλύουσα 'wandering about' (LSJ II), rendering the Homeric description of Tyro καὶ ῥ' ἐπ' Ἐνιπῆος πωλέσκετο καλὰ ῥέεθρα (*Od.* 11.240). ἐθρύπτου 'pretended not to be interested': LSJ II.2.c.

2 προαρπάσαι . . . καθυποκρίνασθαι . . . κατασοφίσασθαι 'steal before me . . . impersonate . . . outwit'. οὐ μὲν οὖν: here μὲν οὖν is adversative (*GP* 475): 'Oh no she didn't!' ἔφης ἀπιδὼν ὅτι Ποσειδῶν ἦσθα: *Od.* 11.252 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τοί εἰμι Ποσειδῶν ἐνοσίχθων. According to normal Attic usage in indirect speech εἰ or εἴης would be expected here, but the imperfect is sometimes found representing the present after verbs of saying in secondary sequence: *GMT* §674.2. τὰ ἐμὰ εὐφραίνου 'you enjoyed a pleasure that should have been mine'. εὐφραίνεσθαι normally takes the dative case. περιστήσας πορφύρεόν τι κύμα ὅπερ ὑμᾶς κατέκρυψε: *Il.* 11.243 4 πορφύρεον δ' ἄρα κύμα περιστάθη, οὐρεῖ ἴσον, ἰ κურτῶθεν, κρύψεν δὲ θεὸν θνητὴν τε γυναικα.

## 14 TRITON AND THE NEREIDS

Triton gives the sea nymphs Doris and Iphianassa an account of Perseus' rescue of Andromeda from a sea monster. The dialogue is a sequel to no. 12, which it recalls with the words ἐσώσατε οἰκτεῖρασσι, καλὸν ἰδεῖν and σῶστρα (1). Perseus has grown up to be a handsome youth, and the Nereids cannot in the end bring themselves to spoil his wedding, though it was offence taken at criticism of their own beauty that led them to bring about Andromeda's exposure to the monster (1 ἐπέμψατε). The brief ecphrastic description recalls a scene very popular in the art of the Roman empire: *LIMC* VII 1.332-48, 2.284-309; cf. *On His House* 22, Philostr. *Imag.* 2.19.

The story is well known. Perseus, brought up on the island of Seriphus, is ordered by the king, Polydectes, to bring the head of the Gorgon Medusa, whose look turned those who saw it to stone. Athena leads him to the daughters of Phorcus, who provide winged sandals, a bag and a cap of invisibility, and Hermes gives him a sickle to cut off the head. This he is able to do by looking at Medusa's reflection in his shield while Athena guides his hand for the fatal blow. The head safely stowed in his bag, as he flies home he espies Andromeda chained to a rock as prey to a sea monster by her father Cepheus, king of Ethiopia (or Libya), whose wife Cassiopeia had boasted that she was more beautiful than the Nereids; Poseidon in anger had sent a flood and the sea monster, which could be removed only by the sacrifice of the princess. Perseus undertakes to kill the monster in return for marriage to Andromeda. Subsequently he turns Phineus, her fiancé, to stone, and later does the same for Polydectes. A version of the story is told at length by Ovid at *Met.* 4.621 5.235. It was the subject of tragedies by Sophocles (*TrGF* 126-36 R.) and Euripides, whose *Andromeda* (*TrGF* 114 55 K.), parodied by Aristophanes at *Thesm.* 1008 1155, was among his most popular plays. See also Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.2-3.

1 οὔτε . . . καί: οὔτε . . . τε is found in Classical Greek, but probably not οὔτε . . . καί: LSJ οὔτε II.4. ὥς οἴεσθε 'as you believe <it would/will>', 'as you intend it to do'. ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ: p. 217. εἰκός: sc. ἐστίν: 'I dare say'. σῶστρα . . . ἐκτίνειν 'pay us back for saving him': σῶστρα (neut. pl.) is a 'thank-offering made for deliverance from a danger' (LSJ).

2 ἄθλόν τινα . . . ἐπιτελῶν 'to carry out a task' (fut. part.) ἦ καὶ ἄλλους συμμάχους ἦγεν; 'or did he bring along other people to help him?' δύσπορος ἢ ὁδός: Iphianassa naturally assumes that Perseus must have crossed the sea in a boat. διὰ τοῦ ἄερος: ὑπόπτερον γάρ . . .: Ar. *Thesm.* 1099 1100 (Euripides as Perseus) διὰ μέσου γὰρ αἰθέρος ἰ τέμνων κέλευθον πόδα τίθημι ὑπόπτερον. αἱ μὲν: sc. Γοργόνες. ὥιχετο ἀποπτάμενος: a Homeric phrase used by Agamemnon to describe the departure of a god-sent dream at *Il.* 2.71.

**3** καλλίστην . . . καθειμένην τὰς κόμας: separate expressions: 'a most beautiful girl, with her hair down'. ἡμίγυμνον πολὺ ἐνερθε τῶν μασθῶν: the upper part of her body was covered by her cascading hair. ἐνερθε is found in Attic tragedy but not in prose, where ὑπό is used. Lucian may here be adopting a Herodotean form: at 4.9.1 τὰ ἐνερθε means the lower parts of the body; cf. 4.65.1 τὸ ἐνερθε τῶν ὀφρύων. κατὰ μικρόν 'gradually': LSJ μικρός III.5.b. ἐχρῆν 'it was destined that . . .'. διεῖπεν 'he decided', a law term which continues the imagery of τῆς καταδίκης above: LSJ II.2. τῇ μὲν . . . τῇ δέ: sc. χερί. Many accounts have Perseus slay the monster with only his ἄρπη (e.g. Ovid, *Met.* 4.706–34), but several authors relate that he held the weapon in his right hand and the Gorgon's head in his left: cf. *On His House* 22, Ach. Tat. 3.7–8, Tzetzes on Lycophron 836. καθικνεῖται 'strikes downwards': LSJ I. γάμον οὐ τὸν τυχόντα 'no ordinary marriage': LSJ τυγχάνω A.2.b.

**4** τῷ γεγονότι: neuter. ἐκείνων: neuter. ὑπὲρ τὴν ὀξίαν: *Dream* I οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν n. βάρβαρος γυνή: Andromeda was Ethiopian (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.3) and therefore black (Ovid, *Her.* 15.35–6).

#### 15 ZEPHYRUS AND NOTUS

The West Wind describes to the South Wind Europa's progress over the sea on the back of the Zeus bull. Lucian's account is part of a long line of ecphrastic descriptions of this episode (Moschus, *Europa*, Ach. Tat. 1.1.2–13, Ovid, *Met.* 2.843–3.2, *Fasti* 5.605–20; cf. *LIMC* IV 1.76–92, 2.32–48). His phraseology recalls Moschus in several places, but not in every detail: Baldwin (1980) 115–19.

Moschus' *Europa* presents itself as an aetiological poem on the naming of Europe, but in fact it is an elegant and witty narrative on the abduction of Europa by Zeus. While picking flowers on the seashore she is noticed by the god, who turns into a tawny bull, gains the confidence of Europa and her companions, and, once she has climbed on his back, bears her away from Asia across the sea. Europa maintains an elegant pose and reflects naively on the bull's ability to cross water. The rest of the story is dealt with briefly: the bull prophesies that she will be taken to Crete, where she will bear noble children (not named by Moschus or Lucian, these were according to tradition Minos, Sarpedon and Rhadamanthys: Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.1.1).

**1** ὄφ' οὐ γέ εἰμι καὶ πνέω: πνέω is often used for 'draw breath', i.e. 'live'; but the fact that a wind is speaking makes the expression amusingly literal. ἀπελείφθης 'you were deprived of': LSJ C.H.1. Ἀγήνορα: genealogies differed over whether Europa was daughter of Agenor or (as in Moschus' account) of Phoenix: Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.1.1. οἶδας: for the second person singular Lucian uses both the *koine* form οἶδας (which occurs sporadically in Classical Greek: LSJ \*εἶδω B) and the usual Classical form οἶσθα (c.g. 2 init.).

**2** ἐκ πολλοῦ 'for a long time': LSJ ἐκ II.1. τὰς ἡλικιώτιδας: the word is probably inspired by Moschus, *Eur.* 29, where her companions are described as ἡλικας . . . τῇσιν αἰεὶ συνάθουρεν, 'with whom she constantly played' (30); cf. παίζουσα, συνέπαιζεν. λευκός . . . τὰ κέρατα εὐκαμπῆς . . . τὸ βλέμμα ἡμερος: in Moschus' account the bull is ξανθός in colour with a white circle in the middle of his forehead (84–5); his eyes 'lighten forth desire' (86 ἡμερον ἄστροπτεσκεν); and his horns are like twin crescent moons (87–8). ἀκριβῶς 'perfectly': cf. 1.3 χρόαν λευκὴν ἀκριβῶς, *Fly* 7 ἀκριβῶς πεπεῖσθαι. ἐμυκάτο ἡδιστον: Moschus, *Eur.* 97 αὐτὰρ ὁ μελίχιον μυκήσατο. τῇ λαίᾳ . . . τῇ ἐτέρᾳ: Moschus, *Eur.* 126 τῇ μὲν ἔχεν ταύρου δολιχὸν κέρασ, ἐν χερὶ δ' ἄλλῃ | εἴρουε πορφυρέην κόλπου πτύχα (πέπλου Bühler), Ovid, *Fasti* 5.607 *illa iubam dextra, laeva retinebat amictus*. ἡνεωμένον τὸν πέπλον: Moschus, *Eur.* 129–30 κολπώθη δ' ὥμοισι πέπλος βαθὺς Εὐρωπείης | ἱστῖον οἶά τε νηός. The billowing garment is notable in several works of art (*LIMC* IV 1.76–92, 2.32–48), and is guaranteed to appeal to the narrator Zephyrus.

**3** ἔρωτικόν 'charming' because inspired by the ἔρωσ of Zeus. παρὰ πολὺ 'by far': LSJ παρὰ C.III.5.a. ἡ . . . θάλασσα . . . τὴν γαλήνην ἐπισπασμένη: Moschus, *Eur.* 115 γαληνιάσκει θάλασσα. Here ἐπισπάσμαι has the sense 'bring on', 'produce'. ἡμέντας 'kindled': perf. part. of ἄπτω. ἦιδον ἅμα τὸν ὑμέναιον: Moschus, *Eur.* 124 γάμιον μέλος ἡπύοντες (of the Tritons). αἱ Νηρείδες δὲ ἀναδύσαι παρίπτεον ἐπὶ τῶν δελφίνων: in Moschus' account dolphins are separately described, and the Nereids ride on sea monsters: γηθό-συνος δ' ὑπὲρ οἶσμα κυβίστее βύσσοθε δελφίς. | Νηρείδες δ' ἀνέδυσαν ὑπὲς ἁλός, αἱ δ' ἄρα πᾶσαι | κητείσι νώτοισιν ἐφήμεναι ἐστιχόωντο, 'Joyfully the dolphin plunged from the depths over the sea swell. The Nereids came up (ἀνέδυσαν) out of the sea, and they all processed mounted on the creatures' backs' (117–19). τὸ . . . τῶν Τριτῶνων γένος: Moschus, *Eur.* 122 3 τοὶ δ' ἀμφὶ μιν ἠερέθοντο | Τρίτωνες. ὁ Ποσειδῶν . . . ὀδοποιῶν τῷ ἀδελφῷ: Moschus, *Eur.* 120–2 Ἐννοσίγαιος | . . . ἀλγὴς ἡγεῖτο κελεύθου | αὐτοκασιγνήτωι. παροχουμένην: perhaps used as a technical term: the πάροχος was the 'best man' who rode beside newly-weds as they travelled from the bride's home to their own house: Dunbar on Ar. *Birds* 1738–40; cf. *Herodotus* 5, where Hephæstion is πάροχος καὶ νυμφαγωγός for Alexander and Roxana. ἐπὶ πᾶσι 'finally': LSJ πᾶς D.IV.

**4** τὸ Δίκταιον ἄντρον: the Cretan cave in which Zeus had been reared by the local nymphs after being vomited up by his father Cronus. The cave appears not to be mentioned in any other account of this myth; but Lucian has taken his hint from Moschus, *Eur.* 158–9, where the bull says Κρήτη δέ σε δέξεται ἤδη | ἢ μ' ἔθρεψε καὶ αὐτόν, ὅππῃ νυμφήια σείο | ἔσσεται. κάτω ὀρώσαν: the characteristic attitude of a bride. διεκυμαίνομεν 'stirred up into waves'. In Homer Zephyrus and Notus are often said to raise storms (*Il.* 4.422 3 ὥς δ'

ὅτ' ἐν αἰγιαλῷ πολυηχέει κύμα θαλάσσης ἢ ὄρνυτ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν Ζεφύρου ὑποκινήσαντος, 7.63-4, 9.4 7, *Od.* 2.421). But this action, which takes place at the moment when Zeus has intercourse with Europa, is probably intended to be sexually suggestive: as well as referring to the swell of the sea, κυμαίνω can mean 'be pregnant' (LSJ II). ὦ μακάριε . . . τῆς θεᾶς 'you are fortunate to have seen that sight!' For μακάριος + gen. see LSJ I.1. γρύπας 'griffins', lion-like creatures with beak and wings which lived in India and feathered their nests with gold (Aelian, *NA* 4.27 = Ctesias, *FGH* 688 F 45h). Most would think griffins, elephants and black men well worth seeing, but for the South Wind they are routine sights.

## APPENDIX LIST OF LUCIAN'S WORKS

For a number of the titles of works attributed to Lucian there is no generally agreed English translation, and some writers still refer to them by the now familiar Latin versions of their titles. In the present commentary it has seemed more helpful to use English, and to provide here a complete list of the Greek titles and their Latin equivalents. The order is that of Macleod's Oxford Classical Text.

1. Phalaris I  
Φάλαρις Α  
Phalaris I
2. Phalaris II  
Φάλαρις Β  
Phalaris
3. Hippias  
Ἱππίας ἢ Βαλανεῖον  
Hippias
4. Dionysus  
Διώνυσος  
Dionysus
5. Heracles  
Ἡρακλῆς  
Hercules
6. Electrum  
Περὶ τοῦ ἡλέκτρου ἢ τῶν κύκνων  
Electrum
7. Praise of the Fly  
Μυσίας ἐγκώμιον  
Muscae encomium
8. Nigrinus  
Νιγρίνου φιλοσοφία  
Nigrinus
9. Demonax  
Δημώνακτος βίος  
Demonax
10. On His House  
Περὶ τοῦ οἴκου  
De domo
11. Praise of One's Fatherland  
Πατρίδος ἐγκώμιον  
Patriae encomium



12. The Long-lived  
Μακρόβιοι  
Macrobii
13. True Histories I  
Ἀληθῶν διηγημάτων A  
Verae historiae I
14. True Histories II  
Ἀληθῶν διηγημάτων B  
Verae historiae II
15. On Not Readily Crediting Slander  
Περὶ τοῦ μὴ ῥαϊδίως πιστεῦειν Διαβολῇ  
Calumniae non temere credendum
16. Sigma vs Tau: the Court of the Vowels  
Δίκη συμφώνων  
Lis consonantium; Iudicium uocalium
17. Symposium  
Συμπόσιον ἢ Λαπίθαι  
Symposium
18. The Pseudo-sophist or Committer of Solecisms  
Ψευδοσοφιστής ἢ Σολοικιστής  
Soloecista
19. A Voyage to the Underworld, or The Tyrant  
Κατάπλους ἢ Τύραννος  
Cataplus
20. Zeus Cross-questioned  
Ζεὺς ἐλεγχόμενος  
Iuppiter confutatus
21. Zeus Rants  
Ζεὺς τραγωιδός  
Iuppiter tragoedus
22. The Cock  
Ὄνειρος ἢ Ἀλεκτρῶν  
Gallus
23. Prometheus  
Προμηθεὺς  
Prometheus
24. Icaromenippus  
Ἰκαρομένιππος ἢ Ὑπερνέφελος  
Icaromenippus
25. Timon  
Τίμων  
Timon

26. Charon  
Χάρων ἢ Ἐπισκοποῦντες  
Contemplantes
27. The Sale of Lives  
Βίων πρᾶσις  
Vitarum auctio
28. The Fisher  
Ἀναβιοῦντες ἢ Ἀλιεύς  
Piscator
29. Twice Accused  
Δὺς κατηγορούμενος  
Bis accusatus
30. On Sacrifice  
Περὶ θυσιῶν  
De sacrificiis
31. The Ignorant Book-collector  
Πρὸς τὸν ἀπαίδευτον καὶ πολλὰ βιβλία ὠνούμενον  
Aduersus indoctum
32. The Dream  
Περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἢ τοι Βίος Λουκιανοῦ  
Somnium siue Vita Luciani
33. The Parasite  
Περὶ παρασίτου ὅτι τέχνη ἢ παρασιτική  
De parasito
34. Lovers of Lies  
Φίλοψευδεῖς ἢ Ἀπιστῶν  
Philopseudeis
35. The Judgment of the Goddesses  
Θεῶν κρίσις  
Dearum iudicium
36. On Salaried Posts  
Περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μισθῷ συνόντων  
De mercede conductis
37. Anacharsis  
Ἀνάχαρσις ἢ Περὶ γυμνασίων  
Anacharsis
38. Menippus  
Μένιππος ἢ Νεκρομαντεία  
Necyomantia
39. The Ass  
Λούκιος ἢ Ὄνος  
Asinus

40. On Grief  
Περὶ πένθους  
De luctu
41. Tips for Orators  
Ῥητόρων διδάσκαλος  
Rhetorum praeceptor
42. Alexander  
Ἀλέξανδρος ἢ Ψευδόμαντις  
Alexander
43. On Images  
Εἰκόνες  
Imagines
44. On the Syrian Goddess  
Περὶ τῆς Συρίας θεοῦ  
De Syria dea
45. On Dance  
Περὶ ὀρχήσεως  
De saltatione
46. Lexiphanes  
Λεξιφάνης  
Lexiphanes
47. The Eunuch  
Εὐνοῦχος  
Eunuchus
48. On Astrology  
Περὶ τῆς ἀστρολογίας  
De astrologia
49. Amores  
Ἔρωτες  
Amores
50. In Defence of 'On Images'  
Ὑπὲρ τῶν Εἰκόνων  
Pro imaginibus
51. The Pseudologist  
Ψευδολογιστῆς ἢ Περὶ τῆς Ἀποφράδος  
Pseudologista
52. The Council of the Gods  
Θεῶν Ἐκκλησία  
Deorum concilium
53. The Tyrannicide  
Τυραννοκτόνος  
Tyrannicida

54. Renounced  
Ἀποκηρυττόμενος  
Abdicatus
55. On the Death of Peregrinus  
Περὶ τῆς Περεγρίνου τελευτῆς  
De morte Peregrini
56. The Runaways  
Δραπέται  
Fugitivi
57. Toxaris  
Τόξαρις ἢ Φιλία  
Toxaris
58. Encomium of Demosthenes  
Δημοσθένους Ἐγκώμιον  
Demosthenis encomium
59. How to Write History  
Πῶς δεῖ ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν  
Quomodo historia conscribenda sit
60. Dipsades  
Περὶ τῶν διψάδων  
Dipsades
61. Saturnalia  
Τὰ πρὸς Κρόνον  
Saturnalia
62. Herodotus  
Ἡρόδοτος ἢ Ἀετίων  
Herodotus
63. Zeuxis  
Ζεῦξις ἢ Ἀντίοχος  
Zeuxis
64. On a Slip in Greeting  
Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν τῇ προσαγορεύσει πταίσματος  
Pro lapsu inter salutandum
65. Apology  
Ἀπολογία  
Apologia
66. Harmonides  
Ἀρμονίδης  
Harmonides
67. Hesiod  
Διάλογος πρὸς Ἡσίοδον  
Hesiodus

68. The Scythian  
Σκύθης ἢ Πρόξενος  
Scytha
69. Gout  
Ποδάγρα  
Podagra
70. Hermotimus  
Ἑρμότιμος ἢ Περὶ αἱρέσεων  
Hermotimus
71. 'You're a Literary Prometheus'  
Πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα Προμηθεὺς εἴ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις  
Prometheus es in uerbis
72. The Halcyon  
Ἀλκυὼν ἢ Περὶ μεταμορφώσεων  
Halcyon
73. The Ship  
Πλοῖον ἢ Εὐχαί  
Nauigium
74. Swift-foot  
Ὠκύπους  
Ocyrus
75. On the Dancers  
Πρὸς Ἀριστείδην περὶ τῶν ὀρχηστῶν  
De saltatoribus
76. The Cynic  
Κυνικός  
Cynicus
77. Dialogues of the Dead  
Νεκρικοὶ διάλογοι  
Dialogi mortuorum
78. Dialogues of the Sea-gods  
Ἐνάλιοι διάλογοι  
Dialogi marini
79. Dialogues of the Gods  
Θεῶν διάλογοι  
Dialogi deorum
80. Dialogues of Courtesans  
Ἑταιρικοὶ διάλογοι  
Dialogi meretricii
81. Letters  
Ἐπιστολαί  
Epistulae

82. Philopatris  
Φιλόπατρις ἢ Διδασκόμενος  
Philopatris
83. Charidemus  
Χαρίδημος ἢ Περὶ κάλλους  
Charidemus
84. Nero  
Νέρων  
Nero
85. Epigrams  
Ἐπιγράμματα  
Epigrammata
86. Timarion  
Τιμάριον ἢ Περὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν παθημάτων  
Timarion

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